

DE BOW'S REVIEW.

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ONE OF THE EVILS OF THE TIMES.

UPON WHAT WE HAVE FALLEN—CHANGES IN PUBLIC SENTIMENT—DECLINE IN SOCIETY—
THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, ETC.—THE REMEDY.

If there be truth in the declaration attributed to one of the wisest statesmen of antiquity, that no nation ever ceases to be prosperous except through a departure from the principles and institutions to which it owes its prosperity—if such be, indeed, the announcement of the voice of history, sounding through centuries of experience, then is there need, sore and instant need, that the popular vigilance which sentinels our liberty should be fully aroused—that a cry of warning should echo throughout the Union, and that the minds of thoughtful men should be concentrated upon the occurrences and opinions which characterize the times, and constitute so marked a portion of that great movement, which, to us, is the unreal present, but which is, nevertheless, moulding the future destiny of a country and of institutions which we fondly boast as co-incident with the hopes and welfare of the human race.

Although public opinion has not as yet attained the full development of that moral power which a distinguished modern statesman seemed to anticipate, when he prophesied that it would supersede the *ultima ratio regum*, and regulate international transactions; yet, in the United States, it seems to have reached its maximum influence, governing not merely the affairs of the nation, but controlling the movements of social life—assuming to interfere with matters of conscience and religious belief—intruding into the sacred privacy of the domestic sphere, and arrogating a dictatorial supervision over private action and personal conduct.

That this great over-ruling element of national prosperity and social progress should be kept as pure as possible from

intermixture with moral error or intellectual defection, is a self-evident proposition; still, it is to be feared, that, in general, however conceded as a theory by those whose position enables them to guide the popular judgment, and direct the popular impulse, yet, that practically, the effect is rather to encourage delusion, and foster folly, than to promote the purity of truth, to discourage prejudice, or disarm error.

In nothing has there been so wide-opened a defection, so universal a departure from established and wholesome precedents, as in the practical enforcement and application of those fundamental principles which have been for ages recognised as the safeguards of civil liberty, and the only effective barriers against tyrannic interference with the freedom of personal action in all the various pursuits through which man proposes to attain the great temporal ends of existence.

A spirit of defiance and disregard towards the great restrictive principles of the Constitution, has been exhibited not merely in a few isolated and individual cases, but has extended to the concerted action of powerful and organized bodies. Legislatures have repeatedly nullified the solemn injunctions of the organic law which establishes their functions, and ought to regulate their proceedings. Political masses have openly and seditiously opposed the supreme power of the Union. Nor has the evil been confined to the ignorant and the influential. Men of high intelligence, of scholarly attainments, and of legal education, have, upon the flowing pretext of individual opinion as to constitutional obligations, boldly sanctioned resistance to the legitimate action of authority, and the execution of judicial determinations.

The radical error is to be found in a growing disregard of the fundamental maxims of liberty—an increasing opposition to the sound and wholesome limitations of constitutional restrictions—a bold infringement of the rights which the people have wisely reserved out of the general powers of government; in fine, a departure from those time-established principles of the common law which form the basis of the political systems of the several States of the Union, which constitute the great conservative elements of civil liberty, which alone can be regarded as the foundation-work of our institutions, and without which they will prove to have been built upon the sand.

In the earlier and purer days of the Republic a different and a better feeling pervaded the community. Then dereliction for constitutional obligations was only of occasional occurrence, and limited to instances of isolated error. Opposition to rightful authority, wild perversion and wanton disregard of acknowledged principles and vested rights, infractions of the

plainest maxims of natural justice, may have been sometimes exhibited, but they rarely assumed the form of combined action; they did not invade the consecrated halls of legislation; they did not, with solemn mockery, ensconce themselves in the judicial mantle, or raise themselves in factious resistance to the authority of the constituted tribunals, and the institutions of popular sovereignty.

Such abandonment of sound principle and practice has, unfortunately, become now so familiar as to diminish, if not entirely destroy, the sense of danger which it is intrinsically calculated to engender.

The government of the Union, as well as those of the several States, is a system of principles not dependent upon men, except so far as relates to capacity and honesty, for their proper administration. The experience of three-fourths of a century has proved that the original theory is fully adequate to all the demands and contingencies of domestic prosperity, and national strength, progress, and perpetuity. The perfect capacity of man for self-government under institutions like ours has been sufficiently demonstrated, and satisfactorily tested, during a period prolific of greater moral and material changes than the world has ever before witnessed.

What alternations of political power, what changes of dynasties, what modifications of systems, what popular convulsions, and, above all, what a silent revolution in opinions, dogmas, and theories, in the estimate of human rights, and the recognition of the true end of power, has history recorded during that eventful interval!

To preserve intact and pure in their original integrity these fundamental principles of our institutions, ought, therefore, to be the great solicitude of the philanthropist, the earnest impulse of the patriot, and the self-sacrificing labor of the statesman. It is a task which demands energy, devotion, and untiring vigilance. And there is need, sad and instant need, of all the zeal, and the watchfulness, and the love, which can throng around the altars where yet glimmer the consecrated fires of liberty. There is need, bitter need, of the vestal purity, the girded loins, and the burning lamp, to preserve, unextinguished, that holy flame, from which we have caught the glow and the warmth that cheer our fire-sides, whose steady lustre illumines the broad path-way of our national progress, and blazes, the beacon of human rights, the "light to lighten the nations."

But is there danger—ought there to be fear that we are lapsing from pristine purity and ancestral faith? What and where are the tokens of so fatal a change? Is not such a notion the idle fancy of poetic musing, or the night-mare imagination of

self-deluding vaticination? Alas! portents and prodigies surround us, manifesting themselves not to the dull eye of ignorance, or the wild gaze of superstition, but revealing and forcing themselves upon the notice of the calm, the thoughtful, and the sceptical. We are verging towards national decay, if there be truth in prophecy, in the maxim adopted as our initial proposition. We are departing, and that not slowly, and with scarcely perceptible pace, but with fatal velocity and accelerating impetus from those principles, to which, under the past favor of Heaven, we are indebted for our social progress and national prosperity.

Individual advancement, and the fierce rapacity of office, are concentrating the care, and the effort, and the movements, which ought to be directed towards the infusion and increase of knowledge, virtue, and sound principles among the people.

Political agitation, springing from selfish motives, and wielded exclusively for personal ends, has become a power superior to opinion, subversive of private judgment, controlling the calm exercise of suffrage, and converting the wholesome cohesiveness of party into destructive elements of factional and fanatical madness. Sectional discord, the hydra-evil of our institutions, once decapitated and cauterized by the happy labor of patriotic compromise, has again elevated its horrid crest "ten-fold more dreadful and deform." The administration of civil and criminal justice has become corrupted, pandering with fatal facility to that factitious sentiment manufactured by interested parties, and miscalled public opinion; prostituting itself to the prejudices of a mob, discarding established principles, and assuming to itself a dispensing power over all the restraints and safeguards of constitutional restrictions.

The public press, claiming the mighty power of controlling opinion, arrogates also an unbridled license; spawning its myriad productions with little regard for verity of fact, with no consideration for private reputation, or official character.

Political aspiration, in place of being the patriotic impulse of the statesman, has degenerated into the rowdy impudence of the partisan bully. Political position, instead of forming the reward of true merit, and the pursuit of the honorable and intelligent, has been debased into a mere shuttle-cock, kept in motion by bar-room politicians, and appropriated by the mountebank who can most amuse, or the pot-companion who will most frequently treat. Such at least, with many conspicuous individual exceptions, is the general tendency of partisan action.

In the social sphere, instead of the true refinement, the dignified simplicity, and intelligent independence befitting republican society, we have all the various and disgusting

manifestations of that detestible product of modern growth, expressively called snob-ism, a mixture of vulgar pretension, unintelligible slang, and senseless ostentation.

To what then, in sober truth, under these degenerate influences, has the freedom of which we boast so loudly, gradually dwindled? Is the law free and unimpeded in its great office? Is public opinion free from the impurities of error, and the grossness of self-delusion? Is political sentiment free from the tyrannous domination of party, the wretched imposition of fraud, or the base sway of pecuniary corruption? In private life are we free in the protection of rights, and the enjoyment of property? Are we free from the invidious attacks of calumny, the absurd dictates of passion, the myriad demands of empty conventionality? Alas! what and where is our vaunted liberty? Is it but the brilliant day dream of the self-deluded patriot, the gorgeous pageantry of a departed luminary, soon to fade, tint after tint, into the dull gray of reality?

"Go seek

Earth's loveliest shores, and ocean's deepest caves,
Go where the sea snake and the eagle dwell
Mid mightiest elements; where nature is,
And man is not; and you may see afar,
Impalpable as a rainbow in the cloud,
The glorious vision, Liberty!"

We have said that the deplorable and dangerous consequences here glanced at, grow, in a great manner out of a departure from the conservative principles of the common law, which our forefathers wisely made the basis of our institutions.

What is it which constitutes the peculiar idiocracy of English freedom, and of English character? Why is it, that both have preserved their leading attributes comparatively unaltered through centuries whose changeful progress has, to a much greater extent, modified the character and the systems of other nations? The obvious characteristic of the institutions, laws, customs, manners, and habits of England, is their almost unvarying solidity, their permanence, and resistance against foreign influence? Her Constitution has stood upon the same solid foundation through a long period of time. Its essential principles have been modified, but not changed, by the exterminating struggles of civil war, and the trying hazards of political revolution. Her dynasty has preserved its integrity through all the changes incident to the great transition from feudalism to the policy and establishments of modernism.

This peculiarity of her history is, unquestionably, owing to a rigid and religious adherence to the great fundamental principles of the common law; those solid and practical principles, which have done more for the promotion of rational liberty, than all the specious theories ever invented, or experimented

upon, in classic or in modern days. The quiet labors of that most remarkable succession of men, the common lawyers of England, have done more for the true advancement of the great cause of human emancipation than all the brilliant speculations of philosophy, all the alluring systems of utopianism, since the commencement of the enduring struggle for the rights of man.

Upon their experience the founders of the American Republic erected the institutions of our liberty. The system which their efforts elaborated from the mighty forge of time, we adopted as the basis and the bulwark of civil rights. It is an inheritance far more valuable than the rich legacy of literature, science, and art which we derive from the same ancestral source. "*Major hæreditas venit unicunque nostrum a jure et legibus quam a parentibus.*"* Superadded to that great dogma—more grand than any which ever emanated from the splendid tenets of academic philosophy—which was born and reared amid the primeval solitudes of Colonial America, perfect religious toleration, the principles of the common law which regulate and protect personal freedom and public security, form the best and perhaps the only system of practical liberty which has ever been engrafted upon a scheme of government in any age of the world. Their conservative influence may be distinctly traced, not only on their original soil, but in such of the States of the Union as have adhered most closely and pertinaciously to those principles. And, as a partial test of their value and efficacy, we will venture the assertion, that wherever they have, in steady practice, been most faithfully observed, there will be found a comparative freedom from constitutional heresies, and a commensurate absence of those myriad fantasies and 'isms' which perplex and demoralize society, in this period of dangerous transition.

It has been a favorite theory with ultra-Protestant writers and thinkers, that there is an irreconcilable counteraction between Liberty and Romanism. It is supposed that the history of the last few centuries has demonstrated that the allied efforts of King-craft and Priest-craft have retarded the progress of human rights, and that the Church of Rome, wherever dominant in power, or ascendant in influence, has repressed both the capacity and the desire of freedom, and rendered civil liberty an impossible growth under her deadly and all-shadowing influence.

There are many facts which tend to sustain this position; and it is certain that the spasmodic efforts towards practical freedom which have been set in motion in Catholic countries

* Cicero.

have proved universally fruitless and abortive. But, it is submitted, as something more substantial than mere speculation, that a careful historical investigation and philosophical exegesis will demonstrate that such failures are attributable as fully to the absence of sound practical principles, such as those derived from the common law of England, and embodied in American institutions, as to any pernicious influence inherent in Catholicism.

That this faith includes doctrines somewhat inimical to republicanism will be admitted; but, at the same time, it may be doubted whether the evils emanating from the intermeddling of crafty bigots with temporal affairs, and the innumerable usurpations of the Church of Rome, are not to be viewed rather as springing from the spirit and character of the times which witnessed her excesses, than from any necessary tendency of her constitution and tenets.

It is certainly true, either as a collateral fact, or as a concurrent circumstance, or a cause, that the efforts to establish practical freedom which have resulted in utter and almost hopeless failure, have not been made under the guidance and with the assistance of the steadfast influence of the common law, or any cognate principles; and there is at least one brilliant example in which Catholicism, acting in concert with the common law, has not prevented the establishment and enjoyment of pure and unperverted liberty. Nay, more, under their united auspices was first announced, clearly and emphatically, the sublime creed of perfect religious toleration, untrammelled by the interference or control of government. The eminent glory due to the primary embodiment of this great principle of freedom unquestionably belongs to George Calvert, one of the Catholic founders of Maryland.

Its subsequent obscurity in the same Province was among the first consequences of supervening Protestant ascendancy.

The principles of the English common law, variously modified, form the wide-spread basis of the whole body of American jurisprudence. Its maxims regulate the operations of commerce, the title to landed property, and its transmission, either by conveyance, descent, or devise; they pervade all the domestic relations, and define their reciprocal rights and duties. Its spirit directs the forms of criminal proceedings, supplying its keen insight of humanity for the detection of guilt, and strictly maintaining its benevolent restraints for the protection of innocence. Its influence presides over the whole process by which civil and personal rights are to be enforced or defended. Its genius breathes through and animates all our institutions. It is the corner-stone upon which our Constitutions, State and Federal, are founded. From it are derived the

great principle of representation and the system of a tri-partite distribution of powers. It marks out the sphere of government, prescribes the respective orbits of its several departments, secures them from mutual encroachment, restrains them from usurpation. It sternly defines the limits and restrictions of military power, wisely making it subordinate to civil authority. It protects property from unauthorized and unreasonable searches and seizures. It establishes and guards the sacred rights of personal liberty and private reputation. It guarantees the freedom of the press, and provides for a due amenability of public men and public measures to the strictures of reason and the force of opinion. It has given us the once inestimable right of trial by jury, and the protecting principles from which spring the great statutory remedy of the habeas corpus. It is the indispensable elementary principle which circulates in the life-blood of liberty, and renders vital the moral atmosphere of freedom.

If, then, these are sober truths, and not idle words, if their reality is deduced from the teachings of history, and not vaguely articulated by the ravings of incoherent enthusiasm, how immense is the obligation which rests upon us, aggregately and individually, to preserve, pure and undisturbed, these sources whence flow so many benefits, which supply the sequestered streams of private happiness, infuses themselves into the "smooth current of domestic joy," contribute to the wide and rushing tide of industry, fill all the various channels of public prosperity, and, finally, swell into the broad expanse of national civilization.

Oh! how sublime a work it would be to strengthen and build up and beautify the great fabric of our freedom, if we could but elevate our thoughts to the magnitude of the conception, and purify and strengthen our minds to the holiness, the dignity, and the mightiness of the labor. If we could but toil with faith and love, with what more than cathedral grandeur would the temple of American liberty loom up, a "landmark to the nations." What holy rites and solemn feasts and pealing anthems would there be celebrated, not with the lifeless formalism of fond tradition, but with the fresh spirit, and the fervent heart, and the out-poured soul of eager gratitude for a finished monument of national glory, a perfect shrine for patriotic devotion, a house of refuge for oppressed humanity.

But is there not a sad contrast, not only in the tendency, but in the actual results of what we are now doing? Are we not tearing down what our fathers builded, not as the mere work of their hands, but with the labor of their minds, the travail of their souls, the cement of their blood? Have we

not driven out the true worshippers, the pure, the wise, the sincere, and the ardent, and permitted the irruption of a horde of iconoclasts, who are breaking down the holy associations, defacing the pictured memories, and desecrating, with irreverent touch, the inmost altars of the sanctuary?

The demagogue rants where the statesman reasoned. The incendiary and the fanatic, in self-engendered frenzy, howl and rave where patriots deliberated in unity of love and devotion of purpose. The resounding dome, which once echoed the words of wisdom and the language of conciliation, now reverberates with the ruffian taunts, disordered uproar, and treasonable menaces of a transfused pandemonium.

"Here lawless bores with ruffian bullies vie,
Who last shall give the rude, insulting 'lie,'
While 'order!' 'order!' loud the Chairman calls,
And echoing 'order!' every member bawls;
Till rising high in rancorous debate,
And higher still in fierce envenomed hate,
Retorted blows the scene of riot crown,
And big Lyeurgus knocks the lesser down."

That such evils are not necessarily inherent in our system of government, or inseparably incident to its administration, we will devoutly believe. That their influence is demoralizing and destructive will be universally admitted. That the unhappy mischief has now reached so dangerous a crisis as to demand the application of some "kill or cure" remedy will scarcely be denied by the thoughtful and judicious.

There is no specific which can be administered, with infallible effect, to a disease so multiform and so deeply seated; but we will trust that there is a recuperative power in popular sovereignty, which only requires free and fair action to purge it, at least, from the worst of the symptoms, and perhaps to obtain relief from the whole disorder.

The belief has already been indicated that one of the chief causes, incited by a generally morbid condition of society, is a wide and radical departure from the purity and simplicity of the primitive principles of the government and habits of the people.

A constant recurrence to fundamental maxims would seem to be indispensable to the proper administration of a system of government founded upon rules definitely and strictly prescribed. We must, in the common phrase, go back to first principles. We must "welcome home again" our "discarded faith." We must return and cling to the ancient altars. Public opinion must be purified, and renewed, and strengthened. There must be a thorough change in the mode of selecting public agents. There must be a substitution in our halls of legislation, and in all the responsible posts of government, of

good men, of men true to the Constitution, of men whose private conduct is regulated by the decencies of life and the ordinary requirements of morality, instead of the factious, the ignorant, and the dissolute.

There is sufficient moral force and redeeming power in the sound opinion of the country to effect this reformation, if the effort be but properly concentrated and directed. But the emergency is pressing, and requires speedy action. We have been pressing towards the verge of revolution—nay, was not a portion of our institutions actually absorbed in its vortex?

Disunion still threatens the integrity of the nation. Civil war has recently been impending among our citizens, nor has the crisis yet arrived. Why stand we here stupidly and idly gazing at the incipient flames which betoken the danger of a wide-spread conflagration, involving all that is precious and valuable of our rights and institutions. Let the press, aye, and the pulpit, for it is a holy work, invoke the patriotism, call upon the intelligence, and conjure the morality of the country to unite in a concerted effort to redeem us from disgrace and to save us from dissolution.

"Trust not to partial care a general good;
Transfer not to futurity a work
Of urgent need. Your country must complete
A glorious destiny. Begin even now,
Now, when Destruction is a prime pursuit,
Show to the wretched nations to what end
The Powers of civil Polity were given."

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE; OR, SUFFERING OF SLAVE AND FREE IMMIGRANTS.

It is often charged that negroes are treated as mere "human cattle," as property rather than as men. The term "chattels" is, we think, but the old Saxon for "cattle." Negroes, we admit, are treated, and considered in law, at the South, as "personal chattels" or "human cattle." The African slave-trader so treats and considers them. His feelings towards them, and his conduct to them, is chiefly, almost entirely, influenced by the same motives that operate on the grazier of Missouri or Kentucky, who conveys his beeves, or mules, or horses, by steamer to New Orleans. If the beeves be the most splendid Durham, or other improved stock, and the horses of the best blood, the feelings towards, and the treatment of the human and the quadruped cattle will approximate still more nearly. But yet there will be a margin of difference. The negro, on the average, will command three-times as much in the market as the Durhams or the barbs, and therefore elicits

three-times as much of the owners interest, care, and attention. Besides, the negro is a human being, and the sane man never yet lived who did not feel for and love his fellow man. A Timon is a myth or a madman. We are all selfish, but we are all, at the same time, unselfish. We involuntarily and naturally sympathize with human suffering, and desire to relieve it. "Benevolent affections" are implanted in every bosom; and it is strange, that whilst every language has the term selfishness, or its equivalent, not one affords a word to express those affections, that outward nature of man, that impels him to love and to aid his fellow man.

Now, we distinctly admit that negroes, by the African slave-trader and the Southern planter, are treated and considered as mere *human* cattle or personal chattels, and that they only receive that amount and degree of attention, care, and regard which are naturally elicited by the combined facts that they are not only the most valuable of cattle or chattels, but that they are human beings and brothers besides. They are weak and dependent, and command that regard and assistance which superiority and strength always render to weakness and dependence. Man has a double nature, which is necessary to his happiness and to his very existence. He has centripetal and centrifugal affections, selfishness and anti-selfishness. Were he wholly unselfish he would perish by sacrificing his own interests to those of others. Were he altogether selfish he would cease to be social and gregarious, and die for want of assistance from his fellow man, for man cannot "live alone." In infancy, in sickness, in old age, nay, in any period of life, he needs the society and aid of his fellow beings.

Now slavery is the oldest and most natural form of human association, and begets and encourages natural affections. Universal liberty disintegrates society and antagonizes mankind. Justice to others becomes injustice to ourselves, and the centripetal or selfish motive of conduct becomes the only rule of life. Competition makes the rich and the poor rivals and enemies, and the poor the enemies and devourers of each other. In slave society the good we do to others is reflected back on ourselves. Superiors, such as parents, masters, and husbands, promote their own well being, by kindness to their inferiors and dependents; and inferiors or dependents, wives, children, and slaves, better their condition by obedience and subservience to the head of the family.

The law of love in this naturally organized society is the law of self-interest. The fact that it is so is as conclusive proof of the naturalness of such society, as its almost universal prevalence. Free society in the social body is as rare, and probably as unnatural, as sickness in the natural body.

Bees, seemingly, build their cells and conduct their government with mathematical accuracy, impelled, as we suppose, entirely by providential instincts, without the exercise of reason. But bees adapt their buildings and their modes of life to as varied circumstances as man. They find no two hollow trees alike, they will build inside a wall, and in any variety of hive provided for them by man. Besides, differences of climate, of location, and vicissitudes of seasons affect them just as they do mankind, and necessitate changes in the regulations and manner of life, to adapt themselves to ever-varying circumstances. Man's social organization is intuitive, involuntary, instinctive, and providential also, and if there be any natural historians and analytical philosophers among the bees, prying over the affairs of men, no doubt they admire the symmetrical order of our social systems quite as much as we do theirs, and discover as little difference in those systems as we do in theirs; for we are by nature equally helpless individually, and equally social and gregarious from instinct and necessity. Human hives or societies are, and ever must be, at all times and places, regulated by laws as universal and as similar as those which control the affairs of bees, for these regulations, in the main, are natural and necessitous.

We once knew a mechanic who declared he could construct a hornet's-nest which would deceive the hornet; themselves; he in vain attempted the deception, and died in abortive efforts to invent "perpetual motion." He was less silly and presumptuous than Fourier or Greely, for a hornet's-nest is not half so complex an affair as a human *society*; and they propose to usurp the part of Providence, create man anew, and revolutionise his very nature and social laws and habitudes. Fanny Wright, after showing that the abolition of feudalism and other forms of domestic slavery has remitted the enfranchised to a new and worse form of slavery, that of labor to capital, expresses with philosophical breadth and accuracy, the idea which Greely and Fourier in vain attempt to expound. *Transition*, she says, not mere revolution, is the thing needed. A thorough social "bouleversement," such as history contains no account of, but "mirabile dictu!" traces of which Miss Wright thinks are discernible as having once occurred in *Asiatic society*; the last society in the world that was suspected of such whimsical love of change. Miss Wright's authority or example disproves all her theories, knocks socialism on the head, and proves that slavery in some form is natural, necessary, inevitable. But where slavery exists continuously, the slave trade in some form must exist also. If the one be natural and inevitable, the other is equally natural and inevitable. We must regulate it by law, and encourage those forms of it that most

promote human well-being. This is all we can do—or Fanny Wright, Greely, Seward, and Garrison, are the true philosophers, Moses and Aristotle wicked charlatans.

The great objection to the African slave trade, is the suffering incurred in the Middle Passage; part of these sufferings are owing to the hot climate, part to the confinement and crowding of the slaves to prevent mutiny and increase profits, part to the sudden change from the wild leisure of savage to the strict subordination of civilized life, and all greatly aggravated by the haste and want of accommodation, which the present illicit and piratical trade is necessarily subject to.

After all, the sufferings of the slaves are probably less than those of free immigrants from Europe, for they have owners interested to preserve their health and lives, whilst the white immigrant stands isolated and unprotected, and his passage being pre-paid, the sooner he is thrown overboard to the sharks, the better for the owner of the passenger ship. Taking into the estimate the wants and habits of these two classes of immigrants, no doubt the negro fares best on the passage—ininitely better after landing. We give some extracts from a work by "Capt. Canot, or twenty years of an African Slaver," which are so quaint, and in many of their details so disgusting, though implicating himself, that no one will doubt their truth.

"When the runners returned from the interior with the slaves required to complete the *Areostatico's* cargo, I considered it my duty to the Italian grocer of Regla to dispatch his vessel personally. Accordingly, I returned on board to aid in stowing *one hundred and eight boys and girls, the eldest of whom did not exceed fifteen years!* As I crawled between decks, I confess I could not imagine how this little army was to be packed or draw breath in a hold but *twenty-two inches high!* Yet the experiment was promptly made, inasmuch as it was necessary to secure them below in descending the river, in order to prevent their leaping overboard and swimming ashore. I found it impossible to adjust the whole in a sitting posture; but we made them lie down in each other's laps, like *sardines* in a can, and in this way obtained space for the entire cargo. Strange to tell, when the *Areostatico* reached Havana, but *three* of these "passengers" had paid the debt of nature."

"As I am now fairly embarked in a trade which absorbed so many of my most vigorous years, I suppose the reader will not be loth to learn a little of my experience in the alleged 'cruelties' of this commerce; and the first question, in all likelihood, that rises to his lips, is a solicitation to be apprised of the embarkation and treatment of slaves on the dreaded voyage.

"An African factor of fair repute is ever careful to select his human cargo with consummate prudence, so as not only to supply his employers with athletic laborers, but to avoid any taint of disease that may affect the slaves in their transit to Cuba or the American main. Two days before embarkation, the head of every male and female is neatly shaved; and, if the cargo belongs to several owners, each man's *brand* is im-

pressed on the body of his respective negro. This operation is performed with pieces of silver wire, or small irons fashioned into the merchant's initials, heated just hot enough to blister without burning the skin. When the entire cargo is the venture of but one proprietor, the branding is always dispensed with.

"On the appointed day, the *barracoon* or slave-pen is made joyous by the abundant 'feed' which signalizes the negro's last hours in his native country. The feast over, they are taken alongside the vessel in canoes; and as they touch the deck, they are entirely stripped, so that women as well as men go out of Africa as they come into it—*naked*. This precaution, it will be understood, is indispensable; for perfect nudity, during the whole voyage, is the only means of securing cleanliness and health. In this state, they are immediately ordered below, the men to the hold and the women to the cabin, while boys and girls are, day and night, kept on deck, where their sole protection from the elements is a sail in fair weather, and a *tarpaulin* in foul.

"At meal time they are distributed in messes of ten. Thirty years ago, when the Spanish slave trade was lawful, the captains were somewhat more ceremoniously religious than at present, and it was then a universal habit to make the gangs say grace before meat and give thanks afterwards. In our days, however, they dispense with this ritual, and content themselves with a '*Viva la Habana*,' or 'hurrah for Havana,' accompanied by a clapping of hands.

"This over, a bucket of salt water is served to each mess, by way of 'finger glasses' for the ablution of hands, after which a *kidd*—either of rice, farina, yams, or beans—according to the tribal habit of the negroes, is placed before the squad. In order to prevent greediness or inequality in the appropriation of nourishment, the process is performed by signals from a monitor, whose motions indicate when the darkies shall dip and when they shall swallow.

"It is the duty of a guard to report immediately whenever a slave refuses to eat, in order that his abstinence may be traced to stubbornness or disease. Negroes have sometimes been found in slavers who attempted voluntary starvation; so that, when the watch reports the patient to be 'shamming,' his appetite is stimulated by the medical antidote of a 'cat.' If the slave, however, is truly ill, he is forthwith ticketed for the sick-list by a bead or button around his neck, and dispatched to an infirmary in the forecastle.

"These meals occur twice daily—at ten in the morning and four in the afternoon—and are terminated by another ablution. Thrice in each twenty-four hours they are served half a pint

of water. Pipes and tobacco are circulated economically among both sexes; but, as each negro cannot be allowed the luxury of a separate bowl, boys are sent round with an adequate supply, allowing a few wiffs to each individual. On regular days—probably three times a week—their mouths are carefully rinsed with vinegar, while nearly every morning a dram is given as an antidote to scurvy.

“Although it is found necessary to keep the sexes apart, they are allowed to converse freely during day while on deck. Corporal punishment is *never* inflicted save by order of an officer, and, even then, not until the culprit understands exactly why it is done. Once a week, the ship’s barber scrapes their chins without assistance from soap; and, on the same day, their nails are closely pared, to insure security from harm in those nightly battles that occur, when the slave contests with his neighbor every inch of plank to which he is glued. During afternoons of serene weather, men, women, girls, and boys are allowed to unite in African melodies, which they always enhance by an extemporaneous *tom-tom* on the bottom of a tub or tin kettle.

“These hints will apprise the reader that the greatest care, compatible with safety, is taken of a negro’s health and cleanliness on the voyage. In every well-conducted slaver, the captain, officers, and crew, are alert and vigilant to preserve the cargo. It is their personal interest, as well as the interest of humanity to do so. The boatswain is incessant in his patrol of purification, and disinfecting substances are plenteously distributed. The upper deck is washed and swabbed daily; the slave deck is scraped and holy-stoned; and, at nine o’clock each morning, the captain inspects every part of his craft; so that no vessel, except a man-of-war, can compare with a slaver in systematic order, purity, and neatness. I am not aware that the ship-fever, which sometimes decimates the emigrants from Europe, has ever prevailed in these African traders.

“At sundown, the process of stowing the slaves for the night is begun. The second mate and boatswain descend into the hold, whip in hand, and range the slaves in their regular places; those on the right side of the vessel facing forward, and lying in each other’s lap, while those on the left are similarly stowed with their faces towards the stern. In this way each negro lies on his right side, which is considered preferable for the action of the heart. In allotting places, particular attention is paid to size, the taller being selected for the greatest breadth of the vessel, while the shorter and younger are lodged near the bows. When the cargo is large and the lower deck crammed, the supernumeraries are disposed of on deck, which is securely covered with boards to shield them from moisture.

The *strict* discipline of nightly stowage is, of course, of the greatest importance in slavers, else every negro would accommodate himself as if he were a passenger.

"In order to insure perfect silence and regularity during night, a slave is chosen as constable from every ten, and furnished with a 'cat' to enforce commands during his appointed watch. In remuneration for his services, which, it may be believed, are admirably performed whenever the whip is required, he is adorned with an old shirt or tarry trowsers. Now and then, billets of wood are distributed among the sleepers, but this luxury is never granted until the good temper of the negroes is ascertained, for slaves have often been tempted to mutiny by the power of arming themselves with these pillows from the forest.

"It is very probable that many of my readers will consider it barbarous to make slaves lie down naked upon a board, but let me inform them that native Africans are not familiar with the use of feather-beds, nor do any but the free and rich in their mother country indulge in the luxury even of a mat or raw-hide. Among the Mandingo chiefs—the most industrious and civilized of Africans—the beds, divans, and sofas are heaps of mud, covered with untanned skins for cushions, while logs of wood serve for bolsters! I am of opinion, therefore, that emigrant slaves experience very slight inconvenience in lying down on the deck.

"But *ventilation* is carefully attended to. The hatches and bulkheads of every slaver are grated, and apertures are cut about the deck for ampler circulation of air. Wind-sails, too, are constantly pouring a steady draft into the hold, except during a chase, when, of course, every comfort is temporarily sacrificed for safety. During calms or in light and baffling winds, when the suffocating air of the tropics make ventilation impossible, the graftings are always removed, and portions of the slaves allowed to repose at night on deck, while the crew is armed to watch the sleepers.

"Handcuffs are rarely used on shipboard. It is the common custom to secure slaves in the *barracoons*, and while shipping, by chaining *ten* in a gang; but as these platoons would be extremely inconvenient at sea, the manacles are immediately taken off and replaced by leg-irons, which fasten them in pairs by the feet. Shackles are never used but for *full-grown men*, while *women* and *boys* are set at liberty as soon as they embark. It frequently happens that when the behavior of *male* slaves warrants their freedom, they are released from all fastenings long before they arrive. Irons are altogether dispensed with on many *Brazilian* slavers, as negroes from Anjuda, Benin, and Angola, are mild; and unaddicted to revolt like those

who dwell east of the Cape or north of the Gold Coast. Indeed, a knowing trader will never use chains but when compelled, for the longer a slave is ironed the more he deteriorates; and, as his sole object is to land a healthy cargo, pecuniary interest, as well as natural feeling, urges the sparing of metal.

"My object in writing this palliative description is not to exculpate the slavers or their commerce, but to correct those exaggerated stories which have so long been current in regard to the *usual* voyage of a trader. I have always believed that the cause of humanity, as well as any other cause, was least served by over-statement; and I am sure that if the narratives given by Englishmen are true, the voyages they detail must either have occurred before my day, or were conducted in British vessels, while her majesty's subjects still considered the traffic lawful.*

"In old times, before treaties made slave-trade piracy, the landing of human cargoes was as comfortably conducted as the disembarkation of flour. But now, the enterprise is effected with secrecy and hazard. A wild, uninhabited portion of the coast, where some little bay or sheltering nook exists, is commonly selected by the captain and his confederates. As soon as the vessel is driven close to the beach and anchored, her boats are packed with slaves, while the craft is quickly dismantled to avoid detection from sea or land. The busy skiffs are hurried to and fro incessantly till the cargo is entirely ashore, when the secured gang, led by the captain, and escorted by armed sailors, is rapidly marched to the nearest plantation. There it is safe from the rapacity of local magistrates, who, if they have a chance, imitate their superiors by exacting '*gratifications*.'

* The treaty with Spain, which was designed by Great Britain to end the slave trade, failed utterly to produce the desired result.

All *profitable* trade,—illicit, contraband, or what not,—*will* be carried on by avaricious men, as long as the temptation continues. Accordingly, whenever a trade becomes *forced*, the only and sure result of violent restriction is to imperil still more both life and cargo.

1st. The treaty with Spain, it is said, was enforced some time before it was properly promulgated or notified; so that British cruisers seized over eighty vessels, one-third of which certainly were not designed for slave trade.

2d. As the compact condemned slave vessels to be broken up, the sailing qualities of craft were improved to facilitate escape, rather than insure human comfort.

3d. The Spanish slavers had recourse to Brazilians and Portuguese to cover their property; and, as slavers could not be fitted out in Cuba, other nations sent their vessels ready equipped to Africa, and (under the jibbooms of cruisers) Sardinians, Frenchmen, and Americans, transferred them to slave traders, while the captains and parts of the crew took passage home in regular merchantmen.

4th. As the treaty created greater risk, every method of economy was resorted to; and the crowding and cramming of slaves was one of the most prominent results. Water and provisions were diminished; and every thing was sacrificed for gain.

"In the mean time, a *courier* has been dispatched to the owners in Havana, Matanzas, or Santiago de Cuba, who immediately post to the plantation with clothes for the slaves and gold for the crew. Preparations are quickly made through brokers for the sale of the blacks; while the vessel, if small, is disguised, to warrant her return under the coasting flag to a port of clearance. If the craft happens to be large, it is considered perilous to attempt a return with a cargo, or '*in distress*,' and, accordingly she is either sunk or burnt where she lies.

"When the genuine African reaches a plantation for the first time, he fancies himself in paradise. He is amazed by the generosity with which he is fed with fruit and fresh provisions. His new clothes, red cap, and roasting blanket (a civilized superfluity he never dreamed of,) strike him dumb with delight, and, in his savage joy, he not only forgets country, relations, and friends, but skips about like a monkey, while he dons his garments wrongside out and hind-part before! The arrival of a carriage or cart creates no little confusion among the Ethiopian groups, who never imagined that beasts could be made to work. But the climax of wonder is reached when that paragon of oddities, a Cuban *postilion*, dressed in his sky-blue coat, silverlaced hat, white breeches, polished jack-boots, and ringing spurs, leaps from his prancing quadruped, and bids them welcome in their mother tongue. Every African rushes to 'snap fingers' with his equestrian brother, who, according to orders, forthwith preaches an edifying sermon on the happiness of being a white man's slave, taking care to jingle his spurs and crack his whip at the end of every sentence, by way of *amen*."

"Besides this, the financial genius of Africa, instead of devising bank notes or the precious metals as a circulating medium, has from time immemorial, declared that a human creature—the *true representative and embodiment of labor*, is the most valuable article on earth. A man, therefore, becomes the standard of prices. A slave is a note of hand, that may be discounted or pawned; he is a bill of exchange that carries himself to his destination and pays a debt bodily; he is a tax that walks corporeally into the chieftain's treasury. Thus, slavery is not likely to be surrendered by the negroes themselves as a national institution. Their social interest will continue to maintain hereditary bondage; they will send the felon and the captive to foreign *barracoons*; and they will sentence to domestic servitude the orphans of culprits, disorderly children, gamblers, witches, vagrants, cripples, insolvents, the deaf, the mute, the barren, and the faithless. Five-sixths of the population is in chains."

In corroboration of this last statement, we have the authority of Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, eighteen years a missionary in Africa, and a friend of colonization.

"Slavery prevails here, as it does in most parts of Western Africa, but on a larger scale. Many of the caboceers own as many as a thousand slaves. Captains and other subordinate officers of the army have their proportionate share also. They are procured in various ways. All prisoners of war, if not executed,

are reduced to slavery, and distributed among the officers of the army. Many are reduced to this condition by misconduct. But much the greater proportion of them are pagan negroes brought from the interior by their Mohammedan conquerors and sold as slaves. A great accumulation of domestic slaves has taken place in Ashanti since the suppression of the trade along the sea-coast."

Now these poor creatures can never be civilized or christianized except as the slaves to white masters; nor can their civilization be preserved except in this state of slavery. As slaves to African masters they must ever remain pagans and savages, with no security even of life; for their masters sacrifice the lives of their slaves by the thousand to gratify a passion, a whim, a caprice, or to grace a funeral.

It is an axiom in the morals of all Christendom, that civilization, christianity, and security of life are the greatest of blessings—their absence the direst of evils. Experience demonstrates that these advantages can only be conferred on the African by reducing him to American slavery. The imputed horrors of the Middle Passage are almost the only sensible objections to thus enslaving him. Do not the subsequent advantages more than compensate for his sufferings on this passage? Compare the protracted ills and sufferings of white immigrants from the Judaical exodus, the *Ænæid*, and the *Odyssey*, to those of yesterday, with the negroes' sufferings, and white immigration will be found, even on the passage, greatly to exceed in suffering, privation, and death, those of the Middle Passage. If some of these immigrations be mere mythical or epical fictions, it is because the sufferings they paint were familiar to men from their frequent occurrence, and more than true as ideals embodying a host of by-gone truths. The Titanic remains of Italy and Greece, the ruins of Egypt, of Asia Minor, Assyria, and India, the great wall of China, the mammoth structures of Palenque, of Peru, and Mexico, and the very Indian arrows that arrest our notice at every step in our fields, remind us how wave after wave of human immigration has swept over the face of the earth and left no mortal vestiges behind.

White immigration has everywhere destroyed the incoming or the native race.

In England the remains of Druidical temples, and the names of a few rivers, are the only mementos of the ancient Briton. The Roman, the Saxon, and the Norman, robbed him of his land and his life. In Southern Continental Europe we in vain look for the Goth, the light-haired and light-eyed Teuton or German. For a thousand years this Teutonic immigration poured down upon the Empire, either as prisoners, slaves, or conquerors. And where are they now? All have perished, either in the sufferings of their exodus, or from the subsequent sufferings of settlement and acclimation. Not a Jew who

left Egypt ever reached the Holy Land. All perished in the Middle Passage. And even now there are no more Jews in the world than negroes in America. They have ever been migratory, and countless millions of them have perished in their Middle Passage. At one time ten tribes migrated, or attempted to migrate, and were no more heard of. Every attempt to colonize in North or South America has been attended with much sickness, privation, and death. Often, as in the first attempts to settle Virginia, all the colonists have perished. Northern papers are daily filled with accounts of cruelty or neglect of immigrants on their passage—of their sufferings from ship fever, plague, and cholera; and from neglect, poverty, and want of employment after they reach our shores. Each city, town, and hamlet, at the North and Northwest, has its cellars or its garrets filled with careworn, heart-broken, neglected, starving immigrants. They are on their Middle Passage to another, we hope, a better world—to a master who will ever cherish and protect them—never oppress or maltreat them. White immigrants are never provided for in the country of their adoption, “for none do love them, none do care for them.” Instead of masters to take care of them, they are met by men who have superadded to the national jealousy and hatred of race and country, the obligation of an oath, rather to oppress than to succor them. Were we required to portray human misery and misfortune throughout all times and nations in its most horrid phase, we should not hesitate to select immigration (the Middle Passage of the free) as our topic.

The poor exile from Erin, or from Germany, suffers, pines, and dies, because no provision has been made for him. The negro gets a master who loves and cares for him, even more than he does for his finest Durham cattle or blooded horses. He will not permit the “winds of Heaven to visit him too roughly,” for in our Northern clime he is an exotic, and exposure might prove fatal to him. Hence, although transplanted to a severe and uncongenial soil, the negro has multiplied and increased in a ratio that almost confounds belief. He has been cared for, protected, and provided for, whilst the white immigrant has been neglected—nay, maltreated. Capital squeezes at the North, according to Mr. Greeley, a thousand dollars out of the labor of each immigrant, for he says they are worth a thousand dollars around, whilst half that sum is more than captive Africans will bring, because owners are afraid to squeeze so much out of their labor.

But three hundred thousand slaves were brought from Africa to our Union. Their number now exceeds (including the emancipated) four millions. But for emancipation, which retarded increase, their number would be at least five millions. This

increase is unprecedented even among people living in a congenial clime. It surely indicates a degree of physical comfort, and an exemption from care, from crime, and licentiousness, such as no people ever enjoyed before. Add to this their improved civilization, and their conversion to christianity, and they have been amply compensated for the pain and privations of the Middle Passage, even if all the protracted horrors of an exodus or an Odyssey were crowded into the few days of their ocean trip.

Blessed, to all appearance, has been their situation here. "*Sed revocare gradum, hoc opus, hic labor est.*"

The first four hundred and sixty immigrants which black philanthropy sent to Sierra Leone, were reduced to sixty in two years; and whilst slaves have rapidly increased in America, free negroes in Liberia, with all the means and appliances to boot, have diminished in number.

In a note to the Compendium of the Census of 1850, we find the following:

"By the report of the Colonization Society, made in 1852, it seems that in thirty-two years 7,592 persons have been sent to that colony, including 800 to the colony of Maryland, and 1,044 liberated Africans. 'The present emigrant population of the colony,' is stated at 'about six or seven thousand.' The emigrants were from Massachusetts 10, Rhode Island 32, Connecticut 30, New York 126, New Jersey 1, Delaware 4, Maryland 489, District of Columbia 101, Virginia 2,409, North Carolina 872, South Carolina 372, Georgia 756, Alabama 49, Mississippi 505, Louisiana 234, Tennessee 287, Kentucky 297, Ohio 45, Indiana 30, Illinois 34, Michigan 1, Iowa 3. Slaveholding States, 6,792; non-slaveholding, 457: Born free, 2,720; purchased, 204; emancipated for Liberia, 3,868."

Thus there has not only been no increase from natural means, but a large number of the settlers are unaccounted for after thirty years experiment.

It is painful to contrast the improving condition of the negro slaves of America for the last seventy years with the deteriorating state of the white laborers of Western Europe. Their poverty and crime and ignorance have been continually on the increase, until Mr. Dickens, the other day, speaking of the people of England, said: "We have below us a heaving mass of poverty, ignorance, and crime." The Lazaroni of Italy, the Sans Culotte or Proletariat of France, the Pauper Banditti and Nomadic Beggars of England, the starving tenantry of Scotland and Ireland, and the Gypsies of all Southern Europe represent, in part, this houseless, homeless, landless, masterless class. But for abolition their numbers would have been fewer. But for abolition famine would not have become chronic and normal in all Western Europe, and riot and revolution the order of the day. This false philanthropy has liberated the slaves of South America and the West Indies, cut off large supplies of food and material for clothing from

Western Europe, restricted her market for her goods, merchandise, and manufactures, turned her laborers out of employment, and made savages of the liberated negroes. In three centuries population in Western Europe, stimulated by supplies of food and clothing from the slaveholding South, has trebled. Abolition has partially cut off those supplies, and hunger and cold and nakedness afflict all Christendom. Let abolition perfect her work, and white laborers will be worse off than slaves, and negroes again return to paganism and cannibalism.

But this sad condition of the masses in Western Europe has not been solely owing to the cutting off the food and clothing and market from the South. When European serfs were liberated, the place of feudal masters should have been supplied by censors or tythingmen, or some men to overlook and govern the family. The laboring classes, without government, control, or dictation, have been fused into one great mass of poverty, ignorance, and crime; and without contact or intercourse with superiors interested and bound to teach and govern them, they are daily retrograding to a state of more than savageness. Negroes require masters, and can neither be civilized or retained in civilization without them. All civilized human society is naturally a series of subordinations, and the inferior officers are not less necessary than the superior ones. White men may dispense with masters such as we have in the South, but they need, in the general, in old societies, officers of some sort, differing in little but name from masters, to protect, provide for, and govern them. We entirely concur in the opinions expressed by Rev. T. J. Bowen, an African missionary, in the extracts which we annex:

"We had several passengers on the crowded deck, among whom were a drunken merchant of Akra, a Brazilian slaver of the Slave Coast, and a pleasant intelligent man who held the rank of colonial surgeon of Cape Coast. In speaking of the dishonesty and indolence of the natives, I remarked that they ought to have masters in obedience to the demands of natural justice. He replied, 'That is true, but in these days it would not do to say so.' I appreciated the remark. The world is governed by fashion, and in these days it is fashionable to regard human rights abstractly from all human relations. Every candid and reflecting man knows that such rights are a positive nonentity. The colonial surgeon knew it; but was too prudent to avow his conviction, lest he should be accused of favoring the slave trade. But the just deserts of a lazy, thievish negro, or white man, is one question, and our authority to inflict the merited punishment, is another."

"No matter by what means the people of different countries may be civilized, the principles upon which civilization is founded, are everywhere the same. Thus far in the history of man, there has been no civilization which has not been cemented and sustained in existence by a division of the people into higher, lower, and middle classes. We may affirm indeed, that this constant attendant upon human society—gradation of classes—is indispensable to civilization, in any form, however low or high."

The hopelessness of all attempts to put down the African slave trade has been felt in England; and some years ago a committee of Parliament proposed the withdrawal of the British fleet from the coast of Africa. Subsequent events have continually shown the inutility and inadequacy of the combined efforts of the allied fleets. It is time the whole subject was fully investigated and discussed, and some new line of policy adopted. If it be practicable and desirable wholly to suppress the trade, a larger force should be employed for the purpose; if not, the fleets should be withdrawn, and each nation be permitted to judge of the morality and propriety of buying slaves in Africa, as the Southern States are permitted to allow or prohibit the domestic slave trade. African slaves would be a great nuisance in most countries; next to indispensable in others. The latter are the countries which with such slavery, produce the largest agricultural surplus, and do most to feed and clothe civilized mankind.

CONSEQUENCES OF ABOLITION AGITATION.

NO. I.

The author of the present paper, which will be followed by two or three others on the same subject, is Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia, the distinguished agricultural writer and practical farmer of that State, who is believed to have achieved as much for the development of the South as any citizen within its limits, and who enjoys a reputation for elevation of character, and purity of sentiment, that might well be emulated in any quarter.

With no lack of faith in the ability and disposition of the men at present in control of our National Administration to carry on the Government in strict accordance with the Constitution, and for the protection of the rights of every section, we still see clouds enough in the Northern horizon to evidence that danger is not yet passed, and reasons enough for the South to keep vigilant sentinels at every outpost.

It was this fear of disunion, and the consequent losses of every kind it would bring to the North, that arrested the madness of its fanaticism in almost the very arms of victory; and among those who depicted these dangers, and urged these losses, were the leading statesmen from every section of the Republic—the Hunters, the Wises, Choates, Browns, Cobbs, Floyds, Slidells, Fillmores, Walkers, etc. The danger was averted, but it will not be amiss to burnish up the weapons with which it was won, and to keep them ever ready at our hands in case of emergency. In this spirit, and for these uses, we insert Mr. Ruffin's papers. They are adapted to Northern as well as to Southern minds.

In the late presidential election a victory has been achieved for the constitutional rights of the Southern States. The Northern abolitionists and their auxiliaries have been repulsed, and their strongest assault has been foiled and defeated for the present time. But though defeated, our enemies are neither weakened nor discouraged. They have seen that with even their present numbers, if more adroitly marshaled and directed, they might have been victorious. And with their

growing and certain gains, from the hordes of future ignorant immigrants from Europe, (most of whom will be ready tools for the service,) the abolition party will be relatively stronger for the next contest, in the next presidential election.

And what is this victory that the South has gained, and its value? And by what means was it secured?

Even if Maryland had not been an exception to the otherwise unanimous vote of the slaveholding States, their unanimous vote would have been overpowered by an united vote of the States under abolition influence, and all of which will be ready hereafter, under different circumstances, to follow the lead of abolition to put down slavery, and to crush the rights and the vital interests, and the very existence of the slaveholding States. If the President had been a Southern man, and even had equal or superior abilities and claims, he could not have been elected, because he would have failed to obtain the necessary additional aid of Northern votes, adverse in feeling and interest to the South. Therefore, however much we may rejoice for our victory, it affords but slight ground for triumph, and still less for assurance of safety, or even of a like temporary defence hereafter, against the renewed and better concerted attack of our enemy. It has been truly said that this victory has given to the South, not peace, but only a truce from active hostilities. Let us of the South use this time of truce to thoroughly examine, understand, and strengthen our position, and so be prepared to meet and repel every future attack on our constitutional rights and our rightful interests.

It is often asserted, and is admitted by many among ourselves, that so long as the Northern people and States use only their constitutional power to assail our interests, the sufferers have no just right to complain, and still less cause to resort for defence to extra-constitutional remedies. No position is more false or dangerous. The forms or letter of the Constitution may be so used as to destroy its spirit and substance, and the very benefits that the Constitution was enacted to secure. When one, and the much more powerful section of a country and people is entirely opposed to and arrayed against the other section, in interest or principle, or in fanatical sentiment, the constitutional forms and literal restrictions of the government may be respected, and yet the weaker section and party may be subjected to the utmost extent of injustice, wrong, and oppression. The right of representation granted for Ireland in the British Parliament, even if entirely fair and equal in proportion to the respective populations of Ireland and England, would have done nothing to guard the weaker from the oppression of the stronger country. If the plan had been adopted of allowing to the former American colonies of England rep-

representatives in the English Parliament, as a measure of defence it would have been futile and contemptible. Our ancestors would have scorned to accept, as protection for their assailed and threatened rights, a representation in Parliament, even if then greater in proportion to population than that of the far more populous mother country. And, as the people and the States of this Confederacy are now divided, by sectional lines, in sentiment, opinion, and supposed interests, and are standing adversely, and in still growing opposition and hostility, the representatives in Congress of the Southern and weaker section, being a fixed minority in both houses, are no more a safeguard to the section they represent, than would exist if it were deprived by the Constitution of all right of representation. In the lower house of Congress, that result is already seen fully exhibited. In the Senate, the majority of members from the non-slaveholding States is smaller, and, owing to the longer term of service, and slower changes of members in that body, the cause of right and justice has not yet been trodden under foot by the brute force of a fixed and sure majority of voters. But the same end must be reached there also in good time. The Senators of the sixteen non-slaveholding States must hereafter truly represent the opinions of their constituents, as now do their fellow representatives in the lower house, and then both legislative bodies will concur in controlling the fixed minority of the fifteen slaveholding States. And, even without this certain, though slow change of voice of the Senate, and long in advance of its completion, there will be admitted other Senators from four or five new non-slaveholding States, which increase will make the abolition party as irresistible in the Senate, as it is already in the other branch of Congress. When this party is thus supreme, it will, of course, elect a President of the United States of like sentiments. And then, without the need of infringing the letter of a single article of the Constitution, the Southern States, their institutions, property, and all that is dear to them and necessary for their very existence, will be at the mercy of their fanatical and determined enemies. Under these circumstances it would be very easy to destroy, by legislation, all the value and security of the institution of slavery, and so lead to its necessary abolition, and the consequent inevitable ruin of the Southern States and people. But these would not be the only means to reach this end. If more power were needed for more complete victory and success, and the Constitution (even as construed at the North) stood in the way, that instrument, in accordance with its own provisions for amendment, may be altered, and put in any required shape. Owing to the actual much faster settlement and filling up of the non-slaveholding territories, (mainly

by foreign immigrants,) and their greater extent, and even if no unjust furtherance were given by Congress, it will not be long before the non-slaveholding States will be so increased as to make three-fourths of the whole number of the members of the Confederacy. Then, the Federal Constitution may be legally altered in any manner by the votes of the Northern States only. Negro slavery may be thus abolished, either directly or indirectly, gradually or immediately. Can any man doubt that the full power and constitutional right, then possessed, will not be exercised as directed by the already existing fanaticism and hostility of the Northern people? The man who can entertain a hope of the contrary course may be, (indeed must be,) too virtuous to know or believe in the violence of fanaticism, or the baseness of party spirit. But he will be a poor judge of human nature, a novice in political history, and altogether unfit to be trusted to guard and protect our rights and liberty.

The present contest between the Northern and Southern States, in regard to negro slavery, has been growing in violence for a long time. It was begun with the iniquitous aggression of attempting to exclude Missouri from the Union as a slaveholding State, and in the successful exaction of the Missouri compromise, in relation to which, both the general enforcement and exceptional violation of its principle by the North, have been exercised and varied, the more to wrong and injure the Southern States. But it has been only since the (falsely so-called) compromise enactments of 1850, that abolition has been hastening towards its object with gigantic strides—and also that the South has been partially roused from its sleep of fancied security. Unfortunate it has been, that this sleep had not been effectually shaken off thirty years sooner, and every means then used for defence that was abundantly possessed by the South at that time. If, when the Missouri compromise was submitted to, the proposed restrictions had been resisted by the South at all hazards, there would have been no further trouble about slavery. And if the fanaticism (or, more truly, the unholy grasping for political power) of the North, had then been so unyielding as to permit a separation of the United States, the southern portion would now have double of their present wealth and power—and the Northern States would not have attained half of their present greatness and wealth, which have been built upon the tribute exacted from the South by legislative policy. But no separation would have been produced. If, at the time of the Missouri compromise, the northern members and States had been firmly resisted, they would have drawn back, and the spirit of political abolition would have been crushed in the bud. The

sincere abolitionists, who are actuated by what they deem moral and religious considerations, are but the simple and deluded tools of the hypocrites and knaves who are using them to further their own objects of personal ambition and political power.

Without looking even as far as twenty years into the future of the effects of the northern crusade against southern slavery, let us see what might have been the speedy consequences, if the contingency had occurred, which was so near occurring, of an abolitionist being elected President—he being the candidate of the Northern States only, and on the abolition question and principle. It is true that a more conciliatory policy would probably have been adopted at first, because the victorious party would not have risked the driving their conquered opponents to desperate and revolutionary measures of resistance. But it is fair to suppose that a party so fanatical, greedy, and unscrupulous, would have used every means to reach its object, that could be used safely and successfully. Let us, then, see what means, and all claimed as constitutional by the North, could be used by an abolitionist administration of the Government of the United States. If elected, it would have been supported by a majority of the people of the States, and of the House of Representatives. It would not have required much time, or management, (by corruption or other influences,) for the President to have also at his command a majority of the Senate—representing States that were already his supporters. Then, the President, with a majority of both Houses of Congress, might adopt any or all of the following measures, to weaken and destroy the institution of slavery:

The first and greatest measure, is already openly avowed by the abolitionists, and the majority of every Northern State, as their designed policy and plan of action hereafter. This is to admit into the Union no new territories as slaveholding States. This alone, even if nothing else is done, will soon increase the non-slaveholding States to three-fourths of the whole, so that the Constitution can be changed, and slavery abolished. But, in advance of the consummation of this great and effectual measure, various other auxiliary means might be used to hasten the end, as thus:

Each of the largest non-slaveholding States might be divided by act of Congress, so as to make two States of each, and so have four abolition Senators in place of two.

Every office and emolument in the gift of the Federal Government might be bestowed on abolitionists only, and in all the Southern States on Northern abolitionists, until corruption and fear, or despair, should induce conversions, or professions

and acts of abolitionism in southerners, as offering the only road to office or gain.

The zealous and active exertions of all these many thousands of Government officials and employees, down to the lowest laborers on any Government work, would be counted on and secured, to operate against the institution of slavery and the interests of slaveholders. This open, unassailable, and powerful influence, would be added to, and serve to increase a hundred-fold, the existing secret influence and concealed operations of the many abolition agents, male and female, lay and clerical, who, in various ostensible business employments, have long been operating on our slaves, often under the hospitable shelter of our own roofs, and as our pretended friends.

Every military and naval officer hereafter to be appointed, might be an abolitionist, and all now commissioned, and not abolitionists, might be dismissed from service on other pretexts, or otherwise not entrusted with any command.

The various lands held by the Federal Government, for forts, dock-yards, arsenals, light-houses, &c., in the South, and every national ship in Southern waters, would be made places of secure refuge for fugitive and even rebellious slaves, and secure positions for any other incendiary action.

The District of Columbia would be made non-slaveholding by law, and soon in sentiment. It would be openly and entirely what it is already partially, (by Northern and Government influence,) ground, within the Southern and slaveholding territory, where the enemies of the South have the greatest facilities for their most effectual and dangerous action. Already under the protecting shield of the Federal Government and its administration, at a former time, the agents of the abolitionists have been able there to effect more injury to slaveholders, and with more of impunity, than any where even in the abolition States.

The removal of slaves by sales from States where they were in excessive numbers, to other States or new territories where they were most deficient, would (as long threatened) be forbidden by an early law under the complete supremacy of a Northern administration. This alone would prevent the making of any new slaveholding States in the small extent of the remaining territory in which climate does not forbid slavery; while the increase of slaves in the old States, from which they would have no sufficient outlet, would render them an unprofitable burden and a dangerous nuisance to the whites. The condition of the slaves would thereby be made much worse, in regard to their own happiness, and the institution of slavery would be hastened toward its doomed extinction.

Some of these measures might require that liberal mode of construing the Federal Constitution which is general at the North, and especially on this subject. But even the strict construction of that instrument might be conformed to, literally, and yet an abolition administration, in a little more time, can as effectually extinguish the institution of slavery, and the prosperity and existence of the Southern States as independent communities.

Such might have been, and, to great extent, such would have been the earlier or later effects and operation of an abolitionists' election to Presidential office. Such, and with more sure and extended operation, will be the effects of the future election, by a much stronger constituency, of a Seward, or some other Northern abolitionist, or of another Southern renegade and traitor, of more ability than the one who was lately raised so nearly to the height of his ambition, only to be let fall and sink in an abyss of contempt.

Will the Southern States wait for the completion of these surely coming results, or will they take the warning so plainly to be read in their enemies' acts and avowals, and save themselves from the impending ruin? The fast growing strength of the abolition party, and the signal success of that party in the next Presidential election, may cause every Southerner to regret that its candidate was not elected in the recent contest, when the South was relatively stronger for defence than it will ever be hereafter.

In such a contingency as we have just now barely escaped, the election of a President by abolition and sectional votes, there will remain no chance for the slaveholding States to preserve their property and their political rights, unless by another declaration of independence of, and separation from, a despotic party, whose wrongful and oppressive acts have already far exceeded, and threaten to exceed much more in future, all the acts of actual and prospective oppression of our mother country, against which our free and patriotic fathers revolted—preferring a struggle for freedom, with all the certain disasters and incalculable dangers of a war with a nation of ten-fold their power, to submission to unjust oppression.

We, the sons of those fathers, eulogize and glorify their act of separation from the previous glorious and happy union of these Colonies with their mother country. Their act of separation and disunion we deem a noble and patriotic devotion to freedom, worthy of all praise. We, the children of those fathers, in maudlin love of, and devotion to a union with those who were formerly deemed our brethren, but now are our most malignant and dangerous enemies, have submitted to oppression and wrong incalculably greater than ever England

inflicted, or thought of inflicting on her Colonies. And still many of the South continue to recommend patience, and endurance, and submission, to every wrong and evil, rather than the evil of disunion!

If Fremont had been elected, the consequences would have been so manifestly and highly dangerous to the rights and the safety of the slaveholding States, that they would scarcely have waited to be completely shackled, and powerless for defence, before they would have seceded or separated from the victorious and hostile States of the present Confederacy. It is proposed here to inquire what would have been the results of such separation, and especially to consider the question of the danger of war, which it is so generally believed would necessarily ensue between the separated communities, and the results of any war.

If the necessity was manifest to the people of the South, there would be no obstacle to their deliberate action, and no probability of opposition by the Northern States, nor by the then remaining fragment or shadow of the Federal Government of the previous Confederacy. The legislatures of the offended States would call conventions, and these conventions would declare their separation and independence, and, by subsequent acts, make a new confederation. If all the fifteen slaveholding States united in this action, they would be far stronger, at home and for repelling invasion, than would be the Northern States as invaders. Even if but five or six adjacent Southern States alone seceded, no remaining power of the Federal Government, or of all the Northern States, could conquer or coerce the seceders.

But, contrary as is the opinion to that which generally prevails, I maintain that such act of secession would offer no inducement or occasion for war; and that there would be no war, as the immediate or direct result of secession or separation.

The malignant hostility of feeling that is even now entertained by the abolition party, and perhaps by a majority of the Northern people, towards those of the South, is not here overlooked or underrated. If they could, by merely willing it, they would ruin us, even while united with them under one government—and still more readily if we were separated. If the mere wish of abolitionists could effect the destruction of our system of negro slavery, even by the destruction of the entire white population of the South, I would fear that consummation would not be a remote event. But *to will* and *to do* are very different things. And even Northern fanaticism, (to say nothing of Northern self-interest and avarice,) would be glad to forego these gratifications, if they were to be pur-

chased only at the cost, to the North, of hundreds of millions of dollars, and hundreds of thousands of lives. Even if admitting, what is so arrogantly and falsely claimed by the North, that it could conquer and desolate the South, any such victory would be scarcely less ruinous to the conquerors than the conquered.

But there would be no such war, and no movement towards it—because war could not subserve or advance any interest of the North. It is unnecessary to maintain the like proposition in regard to the South, inasmuch as it is universally admitted. No one, of either side, has ever asserted, or supposed, that the South would assail, or make war upon the North, in consequence of their separation. Whether this peaceful disposition is ascribed to a greater sense of justice, or to the weakness, or the timidity of the Southern people, all concur in the belief that the South would desire peace, and would avoid war, unless necessary for defence. Then, passing by this contingency, deemed impossible by all parties, we have only to examine the supposed inducements for offensive war and attack by the North on the South.

“But,” it is urged by many among ourselves, “even if the North refrained from making war, still it would retain the direction of the Federal Government, and exercise its rights and remaining power—and also hold possession of the Seat of Government, the army and navy, the fortifications, and the public lands. How could the public property be divided peaceably? And, without resorting to war to enforce our right to a fair share, would not all be necessarily lost to the South? I answer that, even if admitting all these premises, still there would be no need, and no advantage, for the South to seek justice through war—and no benefit to the North would be gained by withholding our just dues, either by war, or in peace. Nations, in modern days, do not often go to war, and never in advance of negotiation, to recover debts, or to settle pecuniary accounts and obligations. There are other means, in many cases, to induce, and even constrain nations to render justice; and, luckily, in our case, the means available for the South would be of the most cogent influence. These will presently be discussed. But first, I will say, that even if the result of separation to the South was, indeed, the loss of every value named above, (except the few spots of Southern ground, heretofore ceded to the Federal Government, and which would necessarily go finally to the States in which they were situated,) the South would still gain, by separation, much more than it would lose by this great spoliation. As to the army, it would, probably, like the present Federal Government, cease to exist, as soon as the Union was dissolved.

The public buildings, fortifications, and navy, and all other material values held by the Government of the Union, and the annual revenue, have been mainly (at least two-thirds of the whole) acquired from the contributions of the Southern States—while the larger proportion of all disbursements of Government, and pecuniary bounties and benefits of all kinds, have as regularly gone to enrich the Northern people. If, then, this regular and very unequal apportionment of the burdens and bounties of Government were stopped, as it would be by separation, the South would gain more in retaining, for the future, its own resources for its own benefit, than the actual pecuniary value to the South, in the Union, of its share of all the present national property. And these retained resources, within a few years, would amount to a fund sufficient to more than replace the forfeited values of army, navy, and all the public edifices. As to the public lands, vast as is their extent, and enormous their value, the South has already been virtually deprived of them. No Southerner can safely remove with his slaves to any new territory. They were thus unjustly and illegally shut out from the rich fields and richer mines of California, by the action of the North and the Federal Government. The conquest of Mexico was achieved by men and money supplied (as of all other contributions) in much the larger proportion by the Southern States. By their much larger expenditure of both blood and treasure, California and New Mexico were acquired. Yet the people of the South, as slaveholders, were excluded from the territory; and Southern men have had no access to or benefit from the rich mines and lands of California, that were not as open to, and equally enjoyed by, the semi-barbarians of China and the Sandwich Islands, the former convicts of Australia, and the needy and desperate outcasts, invited by these benefits, from every foreign land. A like virtual exclusion of slaveholders will be effected hereafter as to every other new territory. And even from the sales of public lands, and through the Federal treasury, it can scarcely be expected that any considerable benefit will hereafter accrue to the South, or serve to lessen its greater share of the burden of taxation. For nearly all the resources from the public lands have, in latter years, been squandered by Congress, and mainly to benefit Northern men and Northern interests. So little revenue from the public lands will hereafter reach the treasury, that the amount will probably not more than defray the great expenses of the land surveys and sales, and the much greater expenses incurred in governing and protecting the new territories. If the gigantic and much urged and favorite scheme of either one or three railroads to the Pacific ocean should be adopted by Congress, (as

seems probable,) all the nett proceeds of future sales of public lands, and that amount doubled by additional grants from other funds of the Government, will not suffice to construct and to keep in use this work of unexampled magnitude and unheard of national folly or extravagance.

According to these views, the entire loss to the South, and at once, of all the public property, would be no greater damage than the former and present and prospective unjust apportionment of contributions and disbursements. Still, this is no reason why, in the event of separation, the South should submit to lose its just rights in the common public property. And in this respect, the independent South would be more able to obtain redress for spoliation, or to save something out of the general wreck of the present public property, than will be possible if remaining united to and governed by the stronger Northern States. As a separate power, wronged by spoliation, the South would negotiate for redress, calmly and peaceably. And, if necessary, until redress was obtained and an acceptable composition made, a prohibition should be enacted against the introduction or sale of all Northern commodities, and the employment of any Northern vessels in the Southern States. These peaceful means would soon produce satisfactory redress or, otherwise, ample retaliation for any amount of previous injury. These measures would be far more potent than war, and yet entirely peaceful, and such as could not be opposed or countervailed, or even complained of by the Northern States.

PRIVATEERS AND PRIVATEERING.

The following article, written partly in 1854, discusses with great power, a question which must soon again be submitted to the American people, and should be one of earnest discussion with the American press. We entirely agree in the position of the writer, that it would be inexpedient to adopt the views of the late Secretary of State upon the subject of privateering, and that the only safe compact we could enter into would be for the reduction of European navies to the standard of our own. Then may private property be respected upon the high seas, but not till then.

At a dinner lately given in England to Lord Elgin, then about to return to Canada, that distinguished statesman, the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, delivered a speech in which occurs the following passage :

"The time will arrive when war against private property on the ocean will be entirely proscribed by all civilized nations, as it has already been upon land, and when the gallant commanders of the navies of the world will esteem it as great a disgrace to rob a peaceful merchant vessel upon the seas as the general of an army would now do to plunder the private house of an unoffending citizen."

This language will be misunderstood, and imply the possession of opinions which, I am persuaded, he does not entertain, if it be not interpreted with reference to the occasion on which it was uttered.

A war, threatening to be one of the most terrible which had ever scourged the world, had commenced. The rights and interests of neutrals are engaging the attention of statesmen, and in their due protection no nation is so deeply interested as this. The British ministry had announced a policy more liberal than has heretofore prevailed, which is eminently consonant with justice, and which may be supposed to have been adopted quite as much, if not more, in deference to the interests and known sentiments of our country as to those of any, or, indeed, of all others.

It was graceful in our ambassador to make, on the earliest occasion, a public acknowledgement of this well-timed resolution; and it was no less judicious, in order to confirm what was declared to be a temporary policy, liable at any moment to be revoked, that he should use earnest and emphatic language to perpetuate it.

It was under these circumstances that Mr. Buchanan used the language in question, and which is, therefore, to be confined to the subject about which he was then speaking—namely, a punctilious respect to the property of neutrals.

But as their expression may be distorted into the sanction, by that great man, of a most erroneous and pernicious opinion—especially as the opinion has been entertained by many able men at different periods, especially as it seems to have gained ground in latter years—I think it proper that its shallow pretensions to philanthropy should be discussed, and its anti-American character exposed.

The doctrines erroneously sought to be inculcated are—

1. That there should be no war on private vessels carrying private property.
2. If such war be tolerated, privateers should not be employed.

As to the first proposition—war on private vessels carrying private property.

There is no resemblance between the cases of ships and their cargoes and the “private house of an unoffending citizen.”

The essential difference between the two consists in this—that in the destruction of the private house the enemy is not *disabled*. It inflicts pain on the individual without impairing the strength of the nation. The injury sustained, or supposed to be sustained, by the public in the loss occasioned to the citizen, in the plunder and destruction of his dwelling, is too remote and in-

significant to justify the severity of the act, while its inevitable tendency, growing out of its apparent wantonness, is to exasperate the passions of the belligerents, aggravate the horrors of war, and postpone and render more difficult the restoration of peace. It is a *pure, unmixed evil*; the infliction of pain without any prospective benefit—condemned alike by Christianity, humanity, and policy.

But the case is entirely different with merchant ships and their cargo. It is scarcely accurate to classify them as private property. They belong to an intermediate species between public and private property, partaking of the nature of both.

Their owners are rightly considered the mere agents of the public, exercising a temporary control over them; receiving a profit for their capital invested in and labor expended on them, small in comparison with the benefit that very large classes of persons more intimately, and the whole nation more remotely, derive from their enterprise. Very large classes of persons—all those concerned, either in changing by manufacture the form of the cargo, or in vending it, after manufacture, by wholesale or retail, or in reshipping it, and those to whom it is reshipped, often colonial dependencies—are associated with it; and the blow struck on the ship jars interests expanded through an empire.

A moment's consideration of the *diffusiveness* of property actively employed in commerce satisfies us that the commerce of a great nation—Great Britain for example—is the *sensorium* of a people with which every nerve of the Commonwealth unites.

This is still more apparent when we remember that the insurance of a ship and cargo has become a universal practice, and that their capture is not a loss to the owner, but to the underwriter. Then, the capital of insurance companies is represented by their stock, which, divided into minute shares, is ramified into ten thousand families, between all of whom the loss is distributed. As a matter of fact, the only loss the owner sustains is the profits on his adventure. Insurance only guaranties indemnity, and not gain.

In truth, insurance offices are co-partners in every maritime adventure. Their share of the profits is the premium received for taking the risk. As no merchant embarks his capital and labor in a voyage where the probability is he will only get indemnity, and not earn profits, war on his ship reduces the chances of his earning profits, and therefore tends to drive his capital out of productive trade, and keep it in unearning sloth.

This immediately acts on the insurance companies, that live on risks, yet famish when the risks become very numerous

and very great, and their capital becomes crippled and no longer able to earn a dollar or pay a dividend, and, like the capital of the merchant, retires from trade and usefulness.

The capital of the country then instantly becomes diminished in value, as is manifest from this—that if it were driven from all business, as a matter of course it would become nearly valueless; if driven from half of the business in which it was employed, it loses half its value.

To drive capital, therefore, from trade, is to destroy, for all practical purposes, capital; and, in the proportion in which it is withdrawn, to deplete the national strength, for the wealth of the citizen is the wealth of the State.

If, then, this ramified injury attends the seizure or destruction of private property engaged in commerce, in what respect does it differ from the capture or destruction of national property?

If our fleet captures a man-of-war, its place will be supplied with another. On whom does the cost of the substituted ship fall? On the citizen, who, by the contrivance of a tax, is made to pay for it.

How is the stockholder of an insurance company better off when he is taxed a shilling to pay his share of this loss, instead of a shilling to pay his proportion of the loss of a captured merchantman? Indeed, it seems impossible to devise a better scheme to make the losses necessarily incident to war fall with an equal pressure on the whole people—where it is fit the pressure should be—than that of capturing the private property of a belligerent on the ocean.

While the whole nation is associated indirectly with such property through the citizens, the Government, as distinguished from the people, sustains a very particular loss in its exchequer.

In many instances property duplicates in value as it touches the custom-house; in many it attains even a much greater value. This multiplied value is the tariff it pays to the Government, so that the capture confiscates not only the then actual value of the cargo, but its value enhanced by the duties to be paid when it would have reached the port of destination, which enhanced value—one hundred per cent., or more or less—is exclusively the loss of the Government, and but for the capture would have constituted a part of the available means of the enemy to continue the war.

There is, then, a mixture of public and private property, in which the interest of the owner is in almost an infinitesimal proportion to the interest of the public; and a usage which should, for the sake of the private, spare the public property, is one better adapted to a millennial era than to the nineteenth

century, when despotism is to be checked in the Old World, and intermeddling by Europe in the affairs of America is to be repressed by suitable chastisement, or other wholesome correction.

This is not the season, by modifying usages of war and the laws of nations in a respect so much to our advantage, to hold out a premium to intermeddlers in our concerns to prosecute their perverse purposes; and every attempt, at home or abroad, to fabricate a popular opinion in behalf of such a change, or to strengthen it if it exists, should be discountenanced, as tending, in the event of war, to weaken the arm of this Government.

The foreign commerce of a nation—all engaged in it at home and abroad, no matter how far removed from seeming contact with it—from him who stands nearest to the foreign grower of the raw material, to him who retails its smallest fragment after it has assumed its final form in the hands of the last manufacturer—all constitute but the great rivers and streams by which wealth is gathered from one country and floated to and dispersed through others; and war on it only closes this great artificial highway and blockades the country of the enemy.

Rightly viewed, it is the most humane way to conduct a war. It leaves in its track neither wounds nor graves; neither widows nor orphans. It is war on *property*, instead of on *life*, and better becomes a civilized age and commercial countries than battles, with all their pomp of banners, and noise of martial music, and display of barbaric circumstance.

It is quite paradoxical to declaim against the inhumanity of war on *property*, and yet preserve silence on the subject of the sufferings and miseries of battles on sea or land. In truth, the sentiment now so frequently uttered has its parentage in the relics of barbarism and the age of chivalry that yet linger in the world's heart, and not in considerations radicated in a loyal regard for human happiness.

The opinion remains, because there has been no occasion to examine its foundations, and will perish when they are canvassed. The idea is that it is wrong in a public war to assail individual citizens, so as to make the burden of its misfortunes fall with greatly more weight on some than on all. But there can be no war in which its evils are not irregularly distributed, and in which individuals are not exclusively the sufferers. The citizens at large feel its general inconvenience in the payment of heavier taxes and the interruption of their business; the chancellor of the exchequer in the duty of filling, more arduous than that of emptying, the treasury; the veteran general in perilling the laurels he has won and the limbs that he has left; the unhappy subaltern, by having his brains knocked out by a

cannon ball, and his name spelt wrong in the gazette; and, last of all, the poor soldier who fills a grave by the ditch side, or the belly of a hungry wolf; or, if he escapes both, limps on a wooden leg through Greenwich Hospital to a nameless tomb.

If the humanity of the nineteenth century clamors that war shall be freed from as many of its horrors as may be, let the mould of the Paixan gun be broken, and all the improvements in the art of slaughter be buried under treaties, and let future battles be fought against property. But until it is more distinctly enunciated that private property is more estimable than human life, let not this people foster by its sanction the doctrine that private property on the ocean is not the legitimate spoils of war.

But war on commerce is more humane than war on the bodies of men for another reason. Nations are so associated now by rapid and easy intercourse, that to assail the marine of an enemy necessarily injures other nations with whom he trades. This creates an interest in a large part of the great family of nations to preserve peace among others. The public sentiment of the world becomes more authoritative, and, by its moral power, suppresses just occasions of war, by preventing injustice; and then there neighborly offices are at hand to arbitrate differences and inculcate friendship.

A great interest is therefore created to prevent war and restore peace, which would not exist if human lives were only to be taken and ships-of-war to be sunk.

Now, a word as to the second proposition—that if war on private vessels carrying private property should be continued, privateers should not be commissioned.

It must be borne in mind that our commerce white as every sea, and that that of those nations with whom we are most likely to be embroiled, spread its sails wherever our own is found.

It follows from this, as a necessary consequence, that we must have an enormous standing navy to resist their established navies, annoy their commerce, and defend our own, or trust, in the main, to our privateers—the militia of the deep.

A large standing navy or a large standing army are hostile to the American spirit. It is the genius of this people to take care of itself, and not to confide the trust to any class; we do our own law-making, we take care of our foreign relations, and we will do our own fighting. In a word, we—the whole people—take care of ourselves, and mean to do so to the end. We have found it very good in the past, excellent in the present, and we will confide in that principle for the future.

It is well it is so. Commerce is enervating to any people; and the statesmen of Rome saw in the luxury of her citizens

her fall long before she did fall, and in vain warned them of it. To counteract the same tendency of wealth in ourselves we must keep ourselves—the whole people—familiarized with the ideas of dangers, and with this truth, that our fighting is not to be done by a class employed for that purpose. Though the theatre of our future wars shall be, as it will be, changed to the sea, still the burden of the war must remain with the people. Thus shall our sailors become enured to the thoughts of battles, and their military spirit kept alive. The *spirit* of a people is the growth of many years. Discipline can easily be established; vessels can be rapidly built and apparalled for the deep, and all the accompaniments of war may be brought into existence in a very short time; but that which is to energize the whole, *the spirit of the soldier*, requires generations to be formed and fully matured. Our fathers were good soldiers, and their sons have not been indifferent ones, though neither were trained to marches and counter-marches. It was because from the earliest settlement of the country we have depended upon ourselves, *the people*, and not on standing armies, for our defense. It has made us a sturdy people, and it will counteract the effeminacy which great wealth would otherwise engender. Let, then, the sentiment continue and spread, that the military power of the country must remain deposited with the people; that our sailors are the militia of the sea as much as our citizens on land are our militia on land, and that on both the defence of the republic depends.

Nothing, then, should be tolerated that seems to countenance on the part of our people a modification of the rights of war in the respect of privateering; on the contrary, it should be inculcated and everywhere proclaimed that the privateer is to be one of our chief arms of offense in time of war.

The hackneyed argument that privateering is corrupting, and engenders piracy after peace is restored, is without force, and stands on a par with the argument against having a militia, because when the war is over they may turn robbers and cut-throats. Congress can prescribe for the government of privateers such regulations as are suitable, and can subject them to a discipline as exact and efficient as that which controls our militia.

It has come to be the interest of foreign countries to have the law of nations modified in this respect. It has been the subject of discussion abroad for many years at intervals; and if we would relieve ourselves from serious difficulties in checking the extension of such an opinion, we should let it be known at once that the American doctrine is, that the privateer is a soldier of the republic, and that, at the first note of war, every sea will whiten with his crest.

A. M. W.

Since the publication of the preceding article, in response to the suggestions made at the Paris Conference, that privateering should be abolished, a proposition was made by our Government that all private property on the seas should be exempted from seizure, in time of war, as well by public, as by private armed ships—and resolutions are now pending in the Senate, which, if adopted, will irrevocably commit the United States to the measure.

England and France have not yet acceded, but the other European kingdoms are generally (and most naturally) in favor of accepting the offer of Mr. Marcy. The writer cannot but believe that those two nations are exhibiting only a seeming reluctance to close with our proposition, and that the fear of awakening our suspicions by too ready an acceptance, has suggested the example of the shop-keeper who hesitates over a bargain he is eager to consummate.

Unless our suspicions of the jealousy of Great Britain and France are the mere delusions of timidity, their willingness to modify marine warfare in the respect suggested, seems beyond reasonable doubt.

At present, our tonnage, surpassing that of any other nation—a coast-line measured by thousands of miles—give us advantages in privateering, that place us on more than an equality on the seas with either France or England, notwithstanding their immense navies. The daily bread of England depends on her commerce. Her Pacific ocean commerce, by reason of our coast line, lay at our mercy. The British channel, in the Revolutionary war, and in the war of 1812, confessed often the presence of the flag of our privateersmen. The coast of England was in constant alarm at their boldness and enterprise.

But let us consider some of the more obvious consequences of the proposed change.

1. An expensive system of fortifications must defend our seaboard cities. In case of war with either France or England, their navies relieved from the duty of guarding their commerce, may concentrate upon them in their entire force, one by one. What fortifications could repel them. Sebastopol, notwithstanding its magnificent forts, was saved from the French and English navies only by obstructions in its harbor which cost millions of dollars, and the removal of which will cost millions more. Her fortifications built at a cost that knew no stint, Russia dared not rely on.

2. Not only must our seaboard cities nestle under fortifications as impregnable as the combined powers of art and wealth can erect, but our navy must match in strength those of our

rivals. A small navy would be blockaded, or else driven to rove in search of some chance encounter with the enemy in which they might meet on equal terms. In a word our navy must be commensurate with those of Powers likely to be our adversaries, or else we must resign all pretensions to an equality on the deep.

3. But the proposed alteration does not extend to the abolition of the right of blockade in time of war. That right will remain as it is. The navies of either of the two first maritime powers of Europe could blockade the mouths of the Mississippi, the Delaware, the Chesapeake, Boston, and New York harbors, with detachments larger than our whole navy as it exists now.

It follows as a consequence that if this amendment in the laws of war be adopted, we must build up an immense Navy. The protection of our cities and our commerce, the vindication of our dignity as a first-class nation, will tolerate nothing less.

4. The cost of our navy, puny as it now is, for the year ending 30th of June, 1856, was \$13,281,341 01. The whole expenditures of the Government, on all accounts, for the same period, was \$56,365,393. Near one-fourth of the whole expense of the Government being for the account of the navy. To put our navy on an equality with that of Great Britain, we would have to increase it at least seven fold. The "Rule of Three" will show that its cost then will be \$92,969,387 07.

Add then the expense of the additional fortifications that must be constructed for the defence of our cities, and the prospect opens to us of a career of expenditure, which must end in high tariffs, and terminate forever the hope of free trade.

But an insuperable objection to a navy that should be adequate to our necessities—privateering being abolished—would be the impossibility of procuring a force to man it. The greatest difficulty is experienced, even now, in obtaining seamen in the numbers required. Assuming a large navy to be capable of being established, the question recurs, will the general interests of humanity have gained by the abolition of privateering. It is upon principles of humanity (it is to be remembered) that the proposed change in modern warfare is maintained.

The historian knows that the possession of large armies or navies will inspire war between nations which would otherwise live in peace, as men always armed inevitably discover a necessity for the use of their weapons.

If to the whole country the contemplated change opens a prospect so forbidding—what does it threaten especially to the views of those everywhere who regard the expansion of our

territory—in the only direction in which expansion is possible, the South—as necessary to our national development, and essential to our safety.

Cuba gravitates to us with immense force. The attraction is mutual. Certainly they are not bodies negatively magnetized. Could they ever meet if the opposing forces of French and English navies, released from the guardianship of their mercantile marine, should intervene?

With no navy now to counteract them—with none that could be built in a quarter of a century to come that could successfully oppose them, the question of the annexation of Cuba would be settled simultaneously with the issuing of the edict, that should place private property on the seas beyond the grasp of the hand of war.

There would be no repetition by France and England of the proposition to us to guarantee forever the possession by Spain of the "Queen of the Antilles." Whatever treaty-stipulations might be made in regard to it, we should be no party to them. They would, for themselves, settle the question—and we should be consulted when Belgium and Portugal, or some other Powers of equal grade, should be admitted to the honor of an audience on the subject.

It is in a word the proposition of a nation to disarm itself *wholly*, on condition that its rivals will disarm themselves *partially*.

The only *fair* bargain we could enter into would be to exempt private property on the seas when our navy shall attain the size of theirs, or when theirs shall be reduced to the dimensions of ours.

But we have unsettled difficulties with our loving relatives touching Central American affairs. Having reduced ourselves to imbecility on the ocean, how shall we adjust them. The Dallas Clarendon Treaty, it is believed, will not be ratified. The Clayton Bulwer treaty hatched out a fresh brood of difficulties. Diplomacy is so far at fault in its efforts to harmonize the conflicting pretensions. Will it be more successful when we shall have thrown aside the sword which our fathers drew in the war of the Revolution, and which their sons so successfully wielded in that of 1812.

Will we not place ourselves in a position of absolute imbecility towards our Central American rights if we make a compact by which we can only oppose a handful of ships to whole armadas.

And California, what will be her position. No military road yet connects her with her sisters who dwell on the shores of the Atlantic and the banks of the Mississippi. Hostile fleets would close the paths that lead over the ocean to her.

One other consideration :

As without a large Navy we would not be able to chastise on the ocean France or England, what would be our resource if constrained to take up arms against them?

We should either be left with the ocean between us, or await an encounter on our own soil—time and place to be selected by them. The theatre of war would be changed from the ocean to our cities and fields.

What we should gain by this, I leave to the arithmetic of statesmen to compute.

How completely we will disarm ourselves for any maritime conflict by the adoption of the views of Mr. Marcy, will be manifest by a glance at the comparative strength of the navies of England, France, and the United States.

In the year 1856, the relative marine power of these nations stood thus :

English Navy.....	573 vessels of war.
“ “	155 small armed steam vessels in the aggregate of 8,600 horse-power.
“ “	16,176 guns.
East India marine....	43 vessels.
“ “ “	141 guns.
French Navy.....	419 vessels of war.
“ “	14,000 guns.
American Navy.....	74 vessels of war.
“ “	2,392 guns.

The American Navy is then, at the very utmost, one-seventh of the size of the English ; and one-sixth of the size of the French : one-thirteenth of the size of the combined naval power of the two.

If, to the whole country, the proposed measure should be objectionable, how odious ought it to be to the *South*. To us, many considerations will naturally suggest themselves, which may well be weighed in silence. But it is better to argue the question on national grounds alone—on these let it rest.

The writer was a devoted friend to the late Administration, and finds no diminution in his admiration and love for it, now that it has passed into history. This is one of the very few points in its policy which did not command his assent. For the venerable Secretary, who, for four years, taught foreign countries their duties as members of the great family of nations, he entertains the profoundest veneration. Twenty pitched battles—all of them won—could not have inspired the world with the same respect for America as the achievements of his pen. “The pen is more powerful than the sword.” Long may the hand that wielded it, instruct the world and advocate

his country's rights. But, with the greatest respect, I submit that the letter to the Count de Sartiges, of 28th July, 1856, is not the production which will perpetuate his name, or most endear him to the memory of his countrymen. W. M. A.

STRUGGLES FOR THE COMMERCE OF THE EAST.*

We learn from the news brought by the last European steamer that Mr. Lesseps, the French agent, is urging the immediate construction of the canal across the isthmus of Suez. This great Egyptian canal is destined to be, without any turn-off or break of continuity, the main channel of communication between Europe, northern Africa, and the whole Asiatic world. It will afford a most economical means of intercourse between 300,000,000 of western people, wielding the powers of modern industry, science, and art, and 600,000,000 of the eastern nations and tribes, to whom Nature, in profusion, and skill, in scanty measures, have given—in Australia, for instance, wool and gold; in Arabia, stores of aromatics; in Oceania, treasures of spices; in China, tea and porcelain; and in India, cotton and silk.

Nine-tenths of mankind will thus be brought into almost immediate contact through a navigable way, connecting, by steam and rail, with all the great public works now in course of construction over Europe, and hereafter, no doubt, to be enlarged upon the bare assurance that the waters of the Mediterranean are soon to mingle with those of the Red sea.

In Hindostan England is, at this very time, hewing her way through ranges of mountains to lay down the rails from the ocean to those immense plains which, in anticipated triumph, she sees bleaching at no very distant period with the cotton bolls. In this she has a two-fold object: one looking to the crippling of our own industry in that line; the latter to the supply of her own deficiencies, and, therefore, the assertion of her own independence.

In addition to this, we find, by statements from the Colonial Office, that the governors of British India are on the point of completing the extensive Jumna canal, which actually doubles the navigation of the Ganges, and carries it to the very base of the Himalayan slopes.

Australia, which, in ten years, has tripled her population, and, in less than five, quadrupled her commerce with Europe, looks along the Indian ocean, through the Gulf of Suez, for a route shorter than the 18,000 miles which separate her from its islands and its continent. She entered into contracts, in

* From the Washington Union.

the course of the year 1856, for the transportation, through Egypt, of her correspondence, passengers, and gold; and now she is patiently awaiting for the opening of this canal, which will afford a new and unencumbered passage to her heavier trade.

Consequences of equally momentous character are about to grow out of the great system of public works now in progress over the surface of Europe. Austria is throwing forward the railroad lines of Lombardy to the shores of Venice; and the German net-work from the Weser, the Elbe, and the Danube, to the port of Trieste, opening, by that course, for the German empire and the Cisalpine provinces, free access across the waters of the Adriatic to the treasures of the East.

The bare idea of this Suez canal diverting vessels from the Cape of Good Hope, and crowding them upon the waters of the Mediterranean, startles Italy from the condition of commercial inferiority to which she was reduced four centuries ago. The old peninsula, that so long swayed the destinies of the mercantile world, is again awake to hopes of commercial prosperity. Invoking the recollection of her far-off expeditions, and relying upon the resources which modern arts and appliances have created, she again dreams, if not of dominion, at least of competition on the seas, in the renewed splendors of her mediæval trade.

The unassuming municipal council which has succeeded the "Dieci," and now represents, in Venice, "the bridegroom of the sea," which he wedded as a real sovereign, has just appointed a committee of inquiry whose duty it is made to trace back the traditions of the Levant trade through Egypt, and to suggest new means of reviving its activity. The Scientific Institute of Venice have also proposed a golden medal for the most satisfactory exposition of the probable influences of the canal on trade, and on the best system of communication to reinstate Venice as the commercial centre of Italy in connection with the India route. We shall look for the result with no slight degree of interest; the 30th of May next being the period appointed for the making of the report, and the awarding of the prize-medal.

In another quarter, Sardinia, "the toilsome bee," as an ancient geographer has styled her, with spirit and enterprise far beyond her territorial limits, opens her Alps and her Apennines once to Switzerland, Savoy, and Piedmont, on one inclined plane of thrift and prosperity leading to the port of Genoa. She has gone even further, and lately made ample appropriations to improve that port, connected with so many and stirring recollections of war, navigation, and trade, and to enlarge it, according to the text of the law, so as to supply adequate

room for the vessels which the Egyptian maritime canal will send to the birth-place of those sea-kings, the Columbus and the Doria.

Even the Papal States, in the like foresight, find their ports inadequate. A committee has there, also, been raised to select beyond the Tiber and towards the East a bay calculated to accommodate vessels of heavy tonnage, and to be converted, by the appliances of science and art, into a large shipping port. This is intended to connect with the railroad which is to go from Calais, via Paris, Florence, and Rome, to Naples, a new opening for a more direct communication from London to the Indian seas.

Spain, too, in the midst of civil revolutions, and their consequent agitations, is shaking off the torpor of her sleep. The procrastinating doctrine of *manana* she now seems to repudiate in sober earnest. To-morrow has come, and she is pushing her railroads from the centre of the kingdom to Barcelona, Carthage, and Cadiz. She makes a stirring appeal to Andalusia, Murcia, Catalonia, and Castile, to give renewed vigor and prosperity to her Philippine Islands. The Mediterranean sea washes the whole extent of her coast, and the Red sea and the canal will realize all the benefits which such a position warrants. The Barcelona Society of Political Economy has followed the example of the Venetian Institute, and it proposes a prize essay, the subject of which has been selected, to the like end, and with a like hope.

This strange reactionary movement of the West upon the East of the olden world, has spread to the confines of the Northern sea. Holland, like Venice, summons back her recollections of past commercial grandeur, and turns her eyes to the maritime passage which now absorbs the interest of the European world of trade. In furtherance of that trade, she has contributed the skill and the services of her chief engineer of hydraulic works. The King of the Netherlands has appointed a select committee, consisting of the ministers of commerce, industry, and public works, who are enjoined to inquire into the consequences which the opening of the Egyptian canal is likely to work on the navigation and trade of a power which, in Malaysia, still possesses the isles of Sunda and Batavia, and nearly controls the commerce of Japan. These possessions of Holland, which, within the last third of a century, have received a forward impetus, have more than doubled in their productive capacity.

Such are the facts which look *us* in the face—facts against which we may not close our eyes, save in wilful blindness. The mere announcement of a free, navigable way, offered to all the maritime powers, including, through a well combined

system of railroads, all the inland nations of Europe, has set them in a fever of excitement and hope. Each is girding itself to struggle in this theatre of renewed activity, and to gather in the advantages which are to be shared by all the competitors, each in proportion with his genius and his enterprise.

In this great exodus of human industry—in this remunerative and civilizing invasion of the East—shall ours be the only unrecorded name—the only unexerted energies? Europe, as one man, leaps in rapture at the idea of a canal across the isthmus of Suez, connecting, by that point, with the already constructed Alexandria and Cairo railroad. And we, who have better than three isthmuses on our own continent—two channels of communication, all but made ours by the rights of American industry and a mortgage to American capital—a third guaranteed to us by all the sanctions of treaty compacts, and all but forfeited to us by the violation of laws, human and Divine—we, in the vigor of our national youth, in the affluence of our national power, remain in a condition of apathy, when the Old World is undergoing the renovating myth of Jason, and making galvanic efforts to acquire that which we but have to stretch our hands to secure!

Our Pacific possessions look directly upon this coveted East. The rudiments of Atlantic and Pacific communication, over land, now about to be developed, will give them an additional importance, to be enlarged with the enlarged necessities of intercourse. This, however, may answer for home consideration and home policy; but the natural viaduct of our commerce and our industry is across those unmistakable highways which Nature herself has marked out for their diffusion and spread, under the triumph of man's ingenuity. Whether through these transit routes or over the bay of San Francisco, the result is bound to be the same. From the margins of the latter, the hand of Providence seems to have scattered along a succession of innumerable islands, as so many stepping-stones for the advancement of our commerce and the spread of our influence. These natural, obvious facilities invite us to the task—they challenge us to the easy conquest of advantage which Europe is even now straining to attain. And yet, for a people who have faith, and justly have faith, in themselves, we seem to have fallen into the fatalism of those worn-out nations of the East, and to be awaiting until some providential interposition shall induct us, without our own exertions, into that career of grandeur for which we are marked by every tendency of our institutions and every element of our character. This should not, and it must not be. On the great field of commercial competition in the East our energies must match the energies of Europe. Let her go to a quarter of the globe other than

her own to make an outlet for them. For our part, let our motto be *data fata secutus*; and we must carry out those destinies through those channels which are more obviously defined in the physical configuration of our continent. Those destinies are happily within the control of the good and sagacious men now at the head of our Government. In them we have every reliable confidence. We know that they are not only alive to the instant interests of the country, but solicitous also, we feel convinced, for the welfare of generations yet to come.

There is not one of them but brings to the discharge of his duties experience and statesmanship, matured by years of faithful and distinguished service. The questions of the day do not come up before them with the character of novelty. Those immediately connected with these remarks have, we are assured, long before this, passed through the process of their analysis; the easier, therefore, their deliberations, and the safer the conclusions to which they may come. Under all circumstances, however, the matter commends itself to promptness and energy. We do not altogether advocate the application of the words of the parable—"compel them to come in" to the races which control the portions of this continent where the more favorable outlets of trade are placed, and yet which seem to hold back from the enlarged circle of industry and comforts to which they are invited by the enterprise and activity of the age. Still we are not ready to assert that it is either expedient or just that they should oppose an inert power against their advance. We may, with the infinite resources of diplomacy at our command, without derogation to the rights of nationalities, level down barriers against the continuance of which not the mere considerations of self, but the more absorbing claims of civilization, loudly protest. This, it is conceived, we can do without a blur upon our international obligations; and this, we firmly trust, those to whom the people have committed their power will rightfully do, with every regard to national honor and national interest.

AMERICAN RAILROADS.

Capt. Galton has lately made a Report to the Lords of the Privy Council of England upon the subject of American railroads. We extract a digest of it from the Railroad Journal.

OUTLINE OF OUR SYSTEM.—In Europe at the introduction of railways, the population was fixed and trade established, so that there was a fair basis for calculating before-hand the amount of traffic. In America, except a few large cities on

the sea coast, the population was scattered, and much of the country uninhabited, while immigration was constantly flowing westward. It was almost impossible therefore to foresee where the centres of traffic would be. Under such circumstances, no fair comparison can be made between the relative cost of railways in Europe and the United States, even if the data existed. The cost of the lines in New York and Massachusetts averages £11,390 (about \$56,000) per mile. The last Census report makes the average for the whole United States, at the end of 1851, about £7,000 (\$35,000) per mile.

There are about 26,000 miles of railway in operation in the United States, about one-sixth of which is double line, mainly constructed by Irish labor.

The chief design of these railways is to connect the sea coast with the fertile lands of the interior. There are four principal routes for this Eastern and Western traffic.

1. The New York Central, based both upon Boston and New York, connecting with Western lines at Niagara and Buffalo.

2. The New York and Erie, crossing the Alleghanies near the headwaters of the Susquehanna and Delaware, and connecting with Western lines at Buffalo, Niagara, and along the south shore of Lake Erie.

3. The Pennsylvania Central, which connects at Pittsburg with lines traversing the centre of Ohio.

4. The Baltimore and Ohio, striking the Ohio river at Wheeling and Parkersburgh connecting with the Ohio Central and Marietta and Cincinnati roads.

Since the report was written, a great line has been opened from the cities of Savannah and Charleston to the Mississippi river at Memphis.

Besides these works, there are the great water lines, the Erie canal and the river St. Lawrence with its canals, extending from the great Lakes to tide water. Also the Great Western and the Grand Trunk railways of Canada.

The project of a railroad to the Pacific also attracts much attention. Five routes have been proposed, but only three are deemed very practicable:

1. From St. Paul's or Lake Superior to Vancouver, near 48th parallel.

2. From Council Bluffs and Benicia, by S. W. Pass, near the 42d parallel.

3. From Fulton, on the Red river, to San Pedro, near 32d parallel.

The following is a comparison of the routes :

	Length in miles.	Greatest elevation of line in feet.	Estimated cost.	Proportion of arable land through which they pass.
1.....	1,864	6,044	£25,000,000 (\$125,000,000)	30 per cent.
2.....	2,032	8,733	£23,000,000 (\$115,000,000)	35 do.
3.....	1,618	5,717	£17,000,000 (\$85,000,000)	45 do.

The suggestion is also made that Great Britain should not leave this question to be solved by the United States alone, and that in crossing the Rocky Mountains, a good opportunity would be afforded for the employment of *convict* labor.

The principal north and south route in the United States is the Illinois Central Railway—from Cairo, at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio rivers, to Chicago and Dubuque, with lines in progress southward, to Mobile, and northward, to Superior City, on Lake Superior. Chicago is the chief focus of railway communication in the West, and may be called the offspring of the railway system. In 1832, the site of the town was occupied by a fort and a few log cabins. The first railway to it was completed in 1850, when it had 25,000 inhabitants; in 1855, 83,509. In 1851, 40 miles of railway centred there with a traffic of £8,000 (\$40,000.) In 1855, 2,933 miles centered there with a traffic of £2,659,640, (about \$13,000,000.)

RAILWAY LEGISLATION.—The Legislatures of the several States have given as many inducements as possible to the construction of railways. Four different methods for providing means for construction have been adopted :

1. By the State.
2. By a company aided by the State, which retains an interest in the line, with the power of interference.
3. By a company to whom lands have been granted, but not otherwise interfered with.
4. By a company unassisted.

1st. The State railways do not appear to have been successful, and have generally been transferred to private companies.

2d. Where railways are assisted by the State, and State Directors are chosen, there is too often a desire to manage with reference to local political objects. This arrangement combining two conflicting elements is false in principle.

3d. The system of granting lands to a company has been remarkably successful in the Western States, the common cus-

tom being to grant alternate sections on each side of the line. As villages spring up, the land becomes very valuable.

4th. Where railways are built by companies, in some instances it is done under general laws, and in others, *special* charters are granted, conveying greater powers, and specifying certain duties. In some States, a Board of Commissioners is appointed, who are to have a general oversight of railways, and see that they comply with the laws.

CONSTITUTION OF RAILWAY COMPANIES.—Companies are governed by a president and a board of directors, the former of whom is a salaried officer, and is selected for his knowledge and skill in the duties of his office. The unlimited power of borrowing which railroad companies have, and other causes, render the question of investment in them, to a great degree, one of personal confidence in their managers.

It appears from tables published that the number of trains on railways in this country is less in proportion to the traffic, and the trains better filled than on the English railway. The receipts per mile in Massachusetts being £1,397 (\$6,985,) in New York £1,576 (\$7,880,) against £3,013 (\$15,165) in England, while the working expenses in those States are £857.65 (\$4,285) and £892.66 (\$4,460) against £1,504.39 (\$7,520.) These results show that the adaptation of trains to traffic is better in this country than in England, though it must be borne in mind that the ordinary rates of interest in this country are greater than in England.

CONSTRUCTION.—The seats of production in America are so far removed from the markets as to render indispensable the most improved means of intercommunication. This necessity has led to great haste in building and equipping roads. The embankments and cuttings are generally completed at the outset, but the ballasting is very deficient. The gauge varies from 4 feet 8½ inches to 6 feet. In consequence of the heavy duty, iron has been economized as much as possible. The mode of fastening the rails to the sleepers, especially at the joints, is bad, as also the signal arrangements at stations. The arrangement for ladies' ticket office is highly approved, as also the fencing of the lines, and the extension of the rails to wharves and private establishments.

In the construction of the rolling stock, reference is had to the inequalities of the road, and to the principle of diminishing the amount of useless weight. In its design, the idea seems to have been taken rather from a ship, than an ordinary carriage. The cars are much superior to English first and second class, and only inferior to the *best* first class. Their

main advantage is that they convey a larger number of passengers, in proportion to dead weight, than the English carriages.

MANAGEMENT.—Trains are under charge of conductors, and are run according to a time-table prepared under the direction of the Superintendent. This is very well so long as the train adheres to it; but when it deviates, embarrassment is likely to ensue. It is extraordinary, considering the use made of it for other purposes, that the electric telegraph is so little used on railways. On a few, it has been adopted, and the time of arrival and departure of each train immediately telegraphed to every station on the line. In this way, absolute certainty is obtained, and the conductor can govern himself with precision in regard to the movements of the train under his direction. The system of telegraphic working introduced by Mr. McCallum, Superintendent of the New York and Erie Railroad, is that to which attention is chiefly drawn, and its operation given in full.

The speed of passenger trains in the Eastern States is not very different from that in England. The system of checking baggage deserves notice from its completeness and the safety of baggage insured by it. The ticket system is generally very defective, owing to the difficulty of obliging passengers to purchase their tickets before entering the cars. The attendance at stations is also bad. The through ticket system is adjusted at periodical meetings of the Superintendents of various companies. There is very little interchange of working stock—thus involving a great deal of loading and unloading, which a more systematic organization may avoid. The mails are conveyed under contract with the Postmaster General, at rates fixed by Congress.

GENERAL REMARKS.—The features which contrast most strongly with the English system are—1st, leaving the public to take care of themselves at crossings; 2d, extending equal convenience and comfort to all passengers in a train. The different habits of the people, and the different purposes for which railways are built in the two countries furnish an explanation of this.

Other points worthy of consideration are—1st. The system affords a good guarantee for efficient management; 2d, the encouragement given to laying the rails in the streets and upon wharves, to facilitate business; the switch signals; the crossing of hills by zig-zags; the supporting of engines and carriages on two independent trucks; the means of communication from one car to another; the protection afforded the engineer and firemen by the shed; 3d, economy and efficiency

from the use of the telegraph; 4th, a centralized organization; 5th, legislation for the promotion of the public interest.

It is with reference to the construction of railways in the English colonies that the American system deserves especial attention. The following deductions may be drawn from a consideration of this system.

A railway is the best road for arterial lines of communication in a new country.

The outlay for construction should be as small as is consistent with safety and economy of working.

Railways made by States have not proved successful.

The encouragement given to private companies, by grants of lands, has proved very successful, by facilitating the rapid settlement of the country, and by enhancing the price of the land retained by the State, as well as by reduction of taxation.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL ADMISSION OF NEW STATES.

It seems to me that much discussion and conflict of opinion, as well as unnecessary agitation, might be avoided in the admission of new States, if Congress would confine itself strictly within the limits of its delegated powers, and from the new constitutions, which may be presented for its action, all provisions were carefully excluded that embrace subjects which cannot rightfully come under the supervision of those powers. Every one will admit that the constitution of a new State, applying for admission, is null and void, and without force or effect, until Congress shall vest it with all necessary authority. The question here occurs, is Congress a purely legislative body? If so, the admission of a new State is nothing more nor less than a legislative enactment, conferring authority on the organic law which is to constitute the new State, and clothe it with the co-equal sovereignty of the existing States. This being the case, can Congress rightfully legislate upon and give force and authority to any provision of the organic law of a new or embryo State, embracing a subject or question upon which the legislation of Congress is expressly withheld? We have no hesitation in expressing our decided opinion that it cannot, and that such action on the part of Congress can be viewed in no other light than a usurpation of undelegated power.

As to the power of Congress in the admission of new States, I take this simple and plain ground: Congress being a legislative body, whose powers are limited and defined, *cannot rightfully vest with authority and force any provision of law,*

no matter in what form it may come before it, which it has no constitutional right to legislate upon; or, Congress cannot indirectly give authority and force to a provision of organic law which it has no power to give, in any other form, by direct and regular course of legislation. Congress cannot place itself in any position, or its matter of legislation in any shape or form, which can warrant it in the exercise of undelegated powers.

When, therefore, a territory applies to Congress for admission as a State, with its constitution providing either for establishing or prohibiting slavery within its limits, Congress has no right to give authority or validity to either such provisions, for the soundest reason, that it has no power whatever of itself over such questions or provisions.

In order that a new State may be *constitutionally* admitted into the Union, I hold that its constitution or organic law, when presented, must be devoid of all provisions embracing questions in relation to which Congress has no legislative power. It must be borne in mind, that the reserved rights and powers belonging to the States respectively, constitute, *equally* with their delegated powers, our *Federal nationality*; that is to say, the *reserved rights* of the States are *equally national* with the *delegated powers*, and are held *equally sacred* against violation in their respective spheres, as well as from encroachments, one upon another. Hence, Congress has no more right to exercise any power reserved by the States, than a State has to exercise any power which it has delegated to the Federal Government. Slavery is one of the reserved rights of the States which the Federal Government, in the beginning, formerly recognised in the constitutional compact, as such, constituting it one of the basis of Federal representation in the Congress of the United States, and binding itself to protect it wherever the *equal rights* and sovereignty of the States may carry it within the territories of the Union. Therefore, whenever Congress shall assume to vest authority in the constitution or organic law of a new State, excluding slavery from, or establishing it within its limits, it is exercising a power belonging solely to the States; and if the people of a territory, as such, shall attempt to do the same, it will be an *assumption and exercise* of State sovereignty in their territorial capacity, for there is no rightful power within the limits of this Union, that can prohibit or extend slavery, but that which resides in the respective *existing States*, each for itself.

The *constitutional admission of new States*, rests then, on the following sound basis:

1st. The constitution of a new State, applying for admission into the Union, should contain no provisions that must, of ne-

cessity, lead Congress into conflict with the reserved rights of the States.

2d. Or, it should not ask Congress to do what it, alone, can have the power to do *only after* it becomes a sovereign State.

3d. And, therefore, it should contain no provision prohibiting or establishing slavery, because it cannot be established or prohibited by Congress or any other power under our Government, but that of a State *in its own sovereign capacity*, and because it can do, of its own right, after it becomes a sovereign State, what Congress has no right to do for it.

Thus, in my humble opinion, are the only just and true grounds for the constitutional admission of new States.

CLINTON, LA., *April*, 1857.

E. D.

THE SUGAR CANE IN LOUISIANA.

Mr. Avequin, who prepared several able articles for the Review, in 1848, upon the chemistry of sugar, has prepared an interesting historical memoir on the subject, which we copy from the New Orleans Delta.

In an article published sometime ago, we asserted that the Sugar Cane is indigenous to the East Indies, China, the kingdoms of Siam and Spain, a few islands of the Indian ocean, Tanna, in the new Hebrides, Otaheite, (Society Islands,) and the Loo Tchoo Islands of Japan.

There are numerous varieties in India, some of which are not classified. Each of the above countries mentioned has furnished one or more varieties peculiar to itself.

The cane called the *Creole*, of Malabar and Bengal, was the first known to Eastern nations; it was introduced into Arabia from India, shortly after the conquests of Alexander the Great; thence into Egypt, and long afterwards into Sicily, Spain, even to Provence, in France; also, into the Canaries, thence to the Antilles, and into Brazil and the rest of South America.

The sugar cane is now cultivated in all tropical countries, in India as well as in South America; and in the United States to the 34th parallel of north latitude, but there the juice will not crystalize, and makes syrup only. We will defer considering this branch of the subject for the present.

The half civilized Indians of Peru, Brazil, New Granada, Mexico, and Central America, cultivate the cane, and from its fermented juice make an exhilarating drink, called *Guarapo fuerte* or *chica*, which is a very pleasant beverage in those warm climates. They also manufacture from the juice of *Chaneaca*, a species of coarse, unpurged sugar; and *Raspa-*

dura, a close-grained, boiled sugar, which is put up in corn shucks.

The first sugar cane imported into Louisiana, was brought from St. Domingo.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE INTRODUCTION OF SUGAR CANE INTO
LOUISIANA.

It was in 1751, whilst the Marquis de Vardrenil was Governor of the Colony of Louisiana, that the sugar cane was first introduced into that province. On the 17th April of that year, two hundred troops were sent out from France to complete the forces of the colony. The transports touched at St. Domingo, when the Jesuits of Leogane, in the bay of Port-au-Prince, obtained leave to send on board for their branch establishment at New Orleans, a supply of cane and a few negroes used to its cultivation and the manufacture of sugar.

These canes were planted in the spacious gardens of the Reverend Fathers, where now stands the First District of New Orleans, just above the city, as it then existed. It was the Malabar, or Bengal variety.

During the first two years, the Jesuits attended only to increasing the plant; and their attempts for years afterwards to extract sugar were fruitless. They persevered, nevertheless.

Although the growth of the cane was encouraged, it did not attain maturity on account of the severity of the climate; it was, as we have said, the Malabar variety, which has since been termed the *Creole* cane.

Thus, to the spirit of industry of the Jesuits, is due the naturalization of the sugar cane in Louisiana, which has been a source of much wealth to the State.

The Jesuits made some attempts to manufacture sugar in 1754, but with no success, and they attributed their failure to their works being put up on too small a scale. They nevertheless, persisted.

From 1752 to 1758, several planters in the environs of New Orleans, having procured a few plants, each, from the Jesuits, cultivated them assiduously. At this time (1758) Dubreuil, who was a rich planter, attempted the experiment on a larger scale. He erected a sugar-house on his grounds near the lower extremity of the town, where is now the Third District, or faubourg Marigny. Up to 1763 his attempts were discouraging, and even fruitless, in the making of sugar; nor had the Jesuits been more successful.

In 1764, the Chevalier de Mazan, on the opposite side of the Mississippi, tried the experiment without better success; although several reports of that epoch compare that gentleman's sugar to the brown sugar of St. Domingo, which was done more

to encourage him than because it was true. The brown sugar of Louisiana never was and never will be equal to that made in the West or East Indies, although its color is sometimes preferable; but that is owing to the age of the cane and the nature of its juice.

Notwithstanding all this, in 1765, several planters, and among them Destrehan, then treasurer of the King of France in the Colony, put up works similar to those of Dubreuil, below the city on the left bank of the river. The small quantity of bad sugar made by them, and consumed in the country, looked exactly like marmelade or guava jelly. In the same year, a vessel which sailed for France, took out a number of barrels of the article to complete her cargo; but it was so inferior that it all leaked out before reaching port. (In fact, even in our own time, such is the case, sometimes, with badly manufactured Louisiana sugar.)

At that period the judicious use of lime was not known, nor the true striking point, two essential requisites. In one word, the failure had been general.

In 1769 the manufacture of sugar was totally abandoned in Louisiana. Those who had tried it were discouraged. The crops did not even cover the outlay.

The trade of New Orleans then consisted in lumber, indigo, peltries, tobacco, cotton, tar, rice, and corn. Dubreuil was the richest planter in the colony. His slaves numbered five hundred; he had a brick yard, an indigo plantation, a nursery for silk worms, and gathered eight or ten thousand pounds of vegetable wax yearly from the *Myrica Cerifera*, of which he had made large nurseries.

Nevertheless, some individuals, probably gardeners, continued planting canes in the neighborhood of New Orleans, selling them at retail in market for the use of children. Others expressed the juice, made syrup of it, and sold it in bottles.

Thus, this new source of industry, springing up in 1765, contending against climate, unseasonable weather, &c., was given up in despair in 1769. More than twenty-five years elapsed before further experiments were made.

In 1790, about the only person who kept up the cultivation of the sugar cane, was a Spaniard named Solis, who lived nine or ten miles below New Orleans, at Terre aux Bœufs; and only did so to make *tafia* or rum of the cane juice. This was already an article which met with a ready sale. This man's attempts to make sugar had also proved abortive. His land, or a portion of it, now forms part of the Olivier plantation, and belonged some years ago to Pierre Reaúd.

In 1791, A. Mendez, of New Orleans, bought Solis' apparatus, land, &c., firmly resolved to carry on this branch of indus-

try, and overcome all obstacles. He, therefore, employed a man named Morin, who had attained practical experience in St. Domingo, in cultivating cane and making sugar.

But owing to want of means, or fear of failure, Mendez could only succeed in making a few barrels of sugar in 1791; he even tried to refine it, for he presented, in 1792, to Don Rendon, then Spanish Intendant of Louisiana, a few small loaves of white sugar, one of which was about enough to sweeten two cups of coffee.

At a grand dinner which he gave to the New Orleans authorities that year, the Intendant, at the dessert, called attention to these loaves, as a production of Louisiana, manufactured by Mendez. Thus up to that time sugar was made only in small quantities, and exhibited as a curiosity.

In 1792, Etienne Boré, a planter, a few miles above the city, finding his indigo crops fail, conceived the idea of mending his broken fortunes by making sugar. His project was looked upon as chimerical, and every endeavor was made by friends and relatives to deter him. But Boré was a man of enterprise and perseverance. He bought canes of Mendez, and made a plantation for that time of considerable extent. He employed Morin, of whom we have already spoken, to build sugar works similar to those in St. Domingo, and to put them in operation, at a salary of \$1,500 per annum. Two years were consumed in planting and building. At length, in the third year, (1795,) their expectation began to be realized, and 1796 proved a triumph to Boré; his difficulties were overcome, and his crop brought \$12,000—a most gratifying result. This powerful incentive roused him to further efforts, and this branch of industry was thenceforth firmly established in Louisiana.

Many planters, elated by his success, followed his example, and immediately began to erect the necessary apparatus. Among the first were the Pieseros, the Carbarets, the Reggios, and Macartys; the numbers continued swelling, and all proved eminently successful.

At that time, viz., 1797, there were but two varieties of sugar cane in Louisiana, the Malabar, or Bengal, and the Otaheite; these have disappeared, or nearly so, having given place to the purple or red ribbon cane of Java or Batavia. The latter produces two varieties, the one good, the other worthless, which we shall describe elsewhere.

It is not known at what time the Otaheitan variety was first brought to Louisiana; but it was doubtless brought from the West Indies, probably from St. Domingo, towards 1796, or 1797.

The red or purple ribbon cane, as we have said, is a native of Java, and probably of some other parts of India. The

Dutch had already met with it in Batavia, in a state of cultivation. They introduced it about the middle of the last century to St. Eustatius, Curaçoa, Guiana, and Surinam. It thence was spread over all the West Indian Islands and part of the American continent.

In 1814, or thereabouts, an American schooner from St. Eustatius, a Dutch colony, imported a few bundles of this cane into Savannah, Ga. They were planted by a Mr. King, not far from the mouth of Savannah river, on St. Simon's Island. They grew well, and Mr. King began the manufacture of sugar.

In 1817 a dozen or so of the plants were brought to New Orleans by John Jos. Coiron, who planted them in his garden at Terre aux Bœufs. Having succeeded admirably in these, Mr. Coiron in 1825 imported a sloop load from Savannah, which he planted on his estate, known as the St. Sophie Plantation, about thirty-six miles below New Orleans. This property has since belonged successively to Laurent Millaudon and Alexander Lesseps. Thence originated the ribbon cane or Javanese, which is the one most generally grown in Louisiana.

The red or purple ribbon cane and violet (which is a degenerate species) are the two best varieties ever cultivated in Louisiana. They are hardy, and are not injured by a cold of two or three degrees of the Centigrade thermometer. They are, however, not worth the Otaheitan or the Salangor in tropical regions. They are less juicy than the Malabar, Bengal, Tanna, or Otaheitan; and although their juice is a little impure, it possesses excellent manufacturing qualities when mature. These varieties have made the fortunes of the planters of Louisiana. They only have stood the severity of the seasons; the other kinds are not suitable to the climate of Louisiana. The planters of this State owe to John Jos. Coiron a debt which should be recognized and paid by a statue or some public monument equally lasting and conspicuous. He died about twenty-five years ago, without having lived to realize or anticipate the extent of the benefits and wealth he had conferred on Louisiana. [His heirs from affluence have been reduced to almost poverty, having seen a large estate of which they held the legitimate ownership, in spite of Herculean struggles through the courts, pass entirely out of their hands.—Ed.]

NEW YORK AS AN EXPORTER COMPARED WITH NEW ORLEANS.

Domestic Exports of New Orleans and New York, for the fiscal year ending 30th June, 1856, compared.

Articles.	Value from N. Orleans.	Value from N. York.	Articles.	Value from N. Orleans.	Value from N. York.
Spermaciti oil.....	\$743	\$1,635	Carrriages.....	\$1,900	\$108,341
Whale oil.....	1,249	14,026	Hats, silk and fur.....	.....	18,690
Candles sperm.....	489	18,846	do. palm leaf.....	80	47,980
Fish.....	702	200,215	Saddlery.....	738	20,251
Staves.....	196,465	1,140,866	Trunks.....	.....	9,980
Shingles.....	4,192	14,312	Adamantine candles.....	7,497	285,463
Boards and planks.....	41,118	554,911	Soap.....	309	119,908
Timber.....	81,818	55,734	Snuff.....	3,144	1,494
Oak bark.....	600	87,694	Manufactures of Tobacco.....	4,691	1,047,026
Manufactures of wood.....	28,040	778,788	Gunpowder.....	11,454	492,186
Tar and pitch.....	2,514	135,429	Leather.....	85	92,822
Rosin and turpentine.....	7,941	1,012,100	Boots and Shoes.....	718	186,364
Skins and furs.....	11,896	866,404	Cables and Cordage.....	8,326	185,438
Beef.....	85,451	1,268,882	Salt.....	.....	810
Tallow.....	185,870	261,664	Lead.....	340	.....
Hides.....	2,536	25,510	Bar Iron.....	497	.....
Horned cattle.....	500	101,568	Nails.....	707	60,980
Butter.....	26,536	258,570	Castings.....	1,202	26,145
Cheese.....	2,955	752,382	All other Iron.....	32,567	1,526,343
Pork.....	385,660	2,690,107	Copper, Brass, &c.....	82,460	396,189
Ginseng.....	.....	175,705	Drugs.....	2,737	717,785
Ashes, pot and pearl.....	.....	496,588	Manufactures of Cotton, Colored.....	88,117	110,065
Hams and Bacon.....	331,510	2,648,916	White.....	91,058	1,649,083
Lard.....	1,914,221	1,838,596	Duck.....	74	198,175
Wool.....	300	.....	Other.....	108	.....
Hogs.....	.....	156	Hemp.....	83	.....
Horses.....	8,060	81,670	Wearing apparel.....	2,896	188,148
Mules.....	400	25,525	Earthen ware.....	50	12,155
Sheep.....	50	11,041	Combs and buttons.....	758	20,009
Wheat.....	2,081,853	9,782,028	Brushes.....	94	1,640
Flour.....	1,907,372	13,692,941	Billiard tables.....	.....	2,378
Indian corn.....	1,931,226	8,462,512	Umbrellas.....	.....	797
Indian meal.....	171	806,179	Morocco.....	212	.....
Eye meal.....	.....	76,794	Fire Engines.....	569	8,373
Rye, oats, &c.....	67,892	2,022,352	Printing presses and type.....	264	20,224
Ship bread.....	8,701	192,560	Musical instruments.....	456	9,621
Potatoes.....	4,714	51,253	Books.....	379	61,529
Apples.....	305	19,118	Paper.....	2,350	94,831
Onions.....	617	23,093	Paints, &c.....	565	64,131
Rice.....	2,043	915,934	Jewelry.....	.....	9,059
Cotton.....	65,443,416	12,805,886	Glass.....	2,499	1,955
Tobacco.....	5,457,591	1,179,539	Pewter and Lead.....	1,142	.....
Flax seed.....	.....	18,017	manufactures.....	505	8,084
Clover seed.....	1,193	25,055	Marble, manufactures.....	1,978	21,536
Hemp.....	1,002	84,880	Bricks, cement.....	7,037	119,106
Brown sugar.....	1,471	1,087	Coal.....	.....	8,805
Refined sugar.....	.....	99,732	Ice.....	240	333,443
Hops.....	.....	48,877	India rubber shoes.....	2,492	531,120
Wax.....	5,716	92,171	Other.....	3,830	92,497
Spirits from grain.....	13,829	466,997	Lard oil.....	21,042	737,625
do. do. molasses.....	.....	.....	Oil cake.....	84,020	545,246
do. do. other materials.....	163	2,405	All other manufactures.....	19,885	694,565
Molasses.....	667	6,305			
Vinegar.....	305	4,529			
Beer, Ale, Cider.....	340	25,975			
Linseed oil.....	1,099	82,249			
Spirits Turpentine.....	4,633	666,610			
Furniture.....	8,843	252,008			

The exportations from New Orleans exceeded those of New York by \$16,562,284; and in the exportations from New York. Cotton, Rice, Tobacco, Tar, and Rosin, which are exclusively Southern products, amount to \$15,849,398.

The total exports from the United States were..... \$266,433,581

Of which from Southern ports..... 149,770,913

“ “ Northern ports..... 116,667,138

Of the exports there were of Southern products..... 189,511,954

“ “ “ “ Northern “..... 86,926,097

THE YANKEES IN VIRGINIA.

A correspondent of the *Richmond Enquirer* thus dispels the popular illusion that Virginia has derived much of her improvement from the late ingress of New England settlers. Little need the Old Dominion apprehend from such colonists, come they ever so fast into her midst, though we think she might well pray deliverance from the infliction. The work of regeneration must be that of her own sons, and it is going on with rapid strides in every part of her wide domain.

A grand scheme has been recently set on foot down East for the resuscitation and abolitionizing of our good old State. The example of Fairfax is appealed to to show what can be done. Years ago, *Putnam's Magazine* had an article in which the energy and enterprise of the Northern settlers in the pines of Fairfax were highly extolled, and the recent scheme was faintly foreshadowed. Chambers, in his *Notes on America*, met with a young officer in the cars, who told him of the way the worn out lands in that old county were made to blossom under the improved cultivation and the extensive use of guano by these model farmers. All these things look pretty, sound well, but, like many other statements about the great advantages of hireling labor, they happen to be untrue. It is hard to spoil such a beautiful fabric, especially when its builders almost believe that it is a grand, substantial edifice of imperishable materials.

It is known to many, that several years since there was much talk of Northern men purchasing property in Virginia, and going to do wonders on it. The broom hedge and old field pines were to disappear before the scientific farming of the new comers, and free labor was to renovate what slave labor had devastated. Prince George was talked of. Lands were looked at in that county and perhaps some purchased. Some small tracts were also settled in Dinwiddie, I believe. However, the South-side people did not receive them kindly, and no extensive purchases were made in that section.

At the same time, there were large tracts in Fairfax, grown up in old fields—old estates, the proprietors of which were unwilling to sell for a long time, until when they became willing to sell they were considered almost valueless. These were in market at low prices. They were bought up, and straightway all the Northern papers rang with praises of the fertility of these lands. Emigration took place. A body of old field pines, so thick that a rabbit could hardly pass through, was a magnificent forest. Pines hardly large enough to make draw-bars, were heavy timber. And, in a short time, all the poor land in the county was bought up. The first purchasers

cut off the pines, made fences of poles, burnt the rest into charcoal, and erected little eight-by-ten sheds, in which they managed to live a year or two. The accounts of the country were still very flattering. Letters were published in the *Rural New Yorker* and other Northern journals, describing everything in Virginia in a style not much unlike the fancy sketch drawn by Mr. Ruffin, in his excellent treatise on calcareous manures—the tall waving grass, (broom-straw;) the majestic forests, (piney old fields;) the lightning more vivid, the thunder louder, the rains heavier, the fruit more delicious, and the lands cheaper.

Such inducements being offered, others came on, and the first purchasers sold out to them at an advance. Very little improvement was made in the lands. The same system of puffing was and is still carried on, each settlement of Northern men selling out in turn to others. Some few have improved the land, but, as a general thing, very little of any kind of fertilizer is used. A little patch near the house is cultivated, but the major part of their lands are turned out into old fields. The writer is acquainted with one gentleman, near whom a host of Northern men are settled, who spends more improving his land than any twenty Yankees within five miles round—yes, than all the Yankees round; for which he buys guano by the ton, and puts it on his land freely. One or two bags is all any of them will purchase.

In the upper part of the county there were, at one time, a great many. Now they are diminishing. Fairfax lands are really improving, but in nine cases out of ten the improvements are by Virginians.

As to intelligence, those people are far inferior to the great mass, even of the uneducated, in our State. They display a most culpable ignorance of the principles of our Government; and, while they boast of their Northern free schools, they will not send their children to school. A gentleman who had established a school in a village in the county, called on one, who had expressed a wish that a school was near him, and informed him of the fact. Although he had several boys growing up in ignorance, he could not spare his boys, they had their *chores* to do up.

A host of similar facts could be adduced, but the above will suffice to show the character of those who have already *restored* one county of our good old commonwealth. It is to be hoped, if the land of Jefferson, of Washington, of Henry and of Taylor, of Newton and of Ruffin is to be resuscitated, that such quacks will not meddle with the patient.

One other point, the effect on slavery, possibly, as some one boasted a year or so ago, writing to the *New York Evening*

Post, slave property is rather insecure among them. And although some agents of the underground may be at work in that section, yet slaves are as safe in Fairfax as in any adjoining county; in fact more so than in Loudoun, where the high price of land has effectually barred the Yankees out. The fact is, they dare not tamper with slaves—they are too closely watched.

One other fact to illustrate the superior education of the Yankee. On the Leesburg turnpike, at a gate is a board, inscribed in rather rough letters "FEAD FOR STALK." No doubt some Yankee traveller will give this as an illustration of the want of free schools in Virginia, but the proprietor and painter is a Yankee, and one of the best of them.

THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH.

CHAPTER I.

COMMERCE AND PROPERTY OF THE TWO SECTIONS IN 1790—HOW CHANGES HAVE BEEN EFFECTED—MASSACHUSETTS AND MARYLAND IN 1840 COMPARED IN WEALTH—COMPARISON OF VIRGINIA AND NEW YORK—KENTUCKY AND OHIO, ETC.

We intend to give our readers, in chapters, the paper which was prepared in 1848, by Elwood Fisher, and read to the Mercantile Society of Cincinnati, having been furnished by the author with a corrected copy, to which we shall add copious notes, wherever it is possible to give other or later illustrations of the points embraced by him. The lecture startled the country at the time, and was angrily assailed by the whole abolition press, but never refuted nor invalidated in any material respect. It was republished and largely circulated, but is now entirely out of print. In response to requests from numerous parties, the publication in the Review is made.

The progress and prospects of the Northern and Southern sections of this Union, involve some of the greatest and gravest questions of the age. Each has a form of civilization peculiar to itself, and to modern times. The Confederacy which has been formed by their union has astonished the world by its success; but the world, as well as the two sections themselves, differ very widely as to the causes of this success, and the agency of the two respective systems of society in producing it.

This controversy has long been advancing on the country, and now, in consequence of recent events, it has become general. In this part of the country, however, we have had but one side; and as the subject is one of the first magnitude, I have thought it highly important that it should be well examined. In a Commercial Institution like this, it is peculiarly proper that the causes of the wealth, and the sources of the commerce of the country, should be well understood.

When the Constitution of the United States was adopted, the population of the two sections of the United States was nearly equal—each having not quite two millions of inhabitants, the South including more than half a million of slaves. The territory then belonging to the two, was, perhaps, also nearly equal in extent and fertility. Their commerce was also about the same; the North exporting about \$9,800,540 in 1790, and the South \$9,200,500.* Even the property held by the two sections was almost exactly the same in amount, being about \$400,000,000 in value each, according to an assessment for direct taxes in 1799† For the first quarter of a century of the present Government, up to 1816, the South took the lead of the North in commerce: as at the end of that period the exports of the Southern States amounted to about thirty millions of dollars, which was five millions more than the Northern. At that time, in 1816, South Carolina and New York were the two greatest exporting States of the Union, South Carolina exporting more than \$10,000,000, and New York \$14,000,000.‡

According to the assessments made by authority of the Federal Government in 1815 for direct taxes, the value of property in the Southern States had risen to \$859,574,697, the white population being then according to an average of the census of 1810, and that of 1820 about 2,749,795, or about \$312 per head, whilst the property of the Northern States amounted to \$1,042,782,264,§ for 4,326,550 population, or only \$240 per head.

Even in Manufactures, the South at this period, excelled the North in proportion to the numbers of their population. In 1810, according to the returns of the Marshals of the United States, the fabrics of wool, cotton, and linen, manufactured in the Northern States, amounted to 40,344,274 yards, valued at \$21,061,525,|| whilst the South fabricated 34,786,497 yards estimated at \$15,771,724. Thus after the lapse of the first quarter of a century under our present form of government, the South had surpassed the North in Commerce, in Manufactures, and in the accumulation of wealth, in proportion to the number of citizens of the respective sections.

Since that period, a great change has occurred. The harbors of Norfolk, of Richmond, of Charleston and Savannah have been deserted for those of Philadelphia, New York and Boston; and New Orleans is the only Southern city that pretends to rival its Northern competitors. The grass is growing

* Pitkin. By the Treasury Reports, 1790, exports northern States \$8,461,209; southern, \$8,558,074.—Ed.

† Pitkin. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. || Ibid.

in the streets of those cities of the South, which originally monopolized our colonial commerce, and maintained their ascendancy in the earlier years of the Union. Manufactures and the arts have also gone to take up their abode in the North. Cities have been expanded and multiplied in the same favored region. Railroads and canals have been constructed, and education has delighted there to build her colleges and seminaries.

These phenomena have made a profound impression on reflecting minds throughout the Union, and particularly in the South. By her leading statesmen, these results have been ascribed to the policy pursued by the Federal Government since 1816. It was at this period that the system of direct taxation was finally abandoned, and the whole interest of the public debt, then so much augmented by the war, as well as the increased expenditures of the Government, was made chargeable on the foreign commerce of the country, except the slight income from the public lands. And, as at the close of the war, the principal articles of export, in exchange, for which we obtained our foreign goods, consisted of cotton, tobacco, and rice, it was held that the new policy was a peculiar burden on the States that produced those staples. In addition to this, the establishment of a Bank of the United States, located at the North with large deposits of Government money, and enabled by the confidence of the Government to maintain a large circulation, which would naturally be devoted to the promotion of Northern commerce, it was thought was also adverse to Southern commercial rivalry. These two measures were the work of a Republican Administration of the Government, but they were strenuously opposed by the States Right party. On their passage in Congress, it was declared by John Randolph, one of the most profound and sagacious statesmen that Virginia, or any other country ever produced, that a revolution in our Government had occurred, whose consequences no man could calculate. The result verified this prediction. Our population is now twenty millions, 1849, (nearer twenty-two millions,) and yet it is thought by all parties, that twenty-five millions of dollars per annum is enough for the support of Government in time of peace. Yet sixteen years ago, when our population was but little more than half of what it is now, this Government exacted \$32,000,000 as duties on our foreign imports, and that, too, when in consequence of this heavy burden on our foreign trade, we only imported \$64,000,000. The Government took half the value of the imports as a tax on foreign trade. This outrage was the cause of South Carolina nullification.

Now the power of the Federal Government over foreign

commerce is by the Constitution precisely the same as over that among the States. It is a power to regulate only. And the South contended that inasmuch as the imports from abroad were the proceeds chiefly, of her staple exports, and were therefore, to all intents and purposes the product of her industry and capital, that there was no more *constitutional* right to tax them on arriving in our ports, than to tax the products of the North when shipped to the South.

When, therefore, the statesmen of the South reflect on the great commercial and manufacturing prosperity of their country in the days of direct taxation, and behold now her dilapidated cities, and deserted harbors, under the change of system, is it wonderful that they have made the halls of Congress eloquent with the ruin and wrong they have suffered? Or is it wonderful that the North whilst it cannot believe that what has been so conducive to its own prosperity, should be detrimental to others, should yet take the South at its word as to its decline, and seek for other causes of such a result. This has been done, and negro slavery has with extraordinary unanimity been fixed upon as the great and efficient cause of Southern decline. And it is now assumed that the South, particularly the older States, is undergoing the process of impoverishment, depopulation, and decay. At the North she is continually spoken of, by almost all classes, in terms of mingled condemnation and pity. She is accused of idleness, ignorance, and pride. She is advised to emancipate her slaves, and emulate the North in enterprise, industry, and civilization.

The first object of civilized life is to accumulate wealth; as on that depends improvement in science and the arts, and the supply of the multiplied wants of society in that state. And hence it is that the South is declared to be falling behind the civilization of the age, and is advised to abandon her peculiar institution, in order to avoid the disastrous condition of ignorance and barbarism that awaits her.

Now in an age like this, of pre-eminent intelligence, with the schoolmasters all abroad; with the universal diffusion of the press, and the post, and on a question like this, of the first magnitude, and the least complexity, and whilst the people of the two sections are continually travelling amongst each other and engaged in discussions with one another in stages and steamboats, in cars, in hotels, on the stump, and in Congress, it is scarcely credible that a universal mistake prevails as to the facts. Yet in opposition to the existing opinion on the subject, I maintain that the South is greatly superior to the North in wealth in proportion to the number of their *citizens* respectively; and this will appear by a comparison of the progress

of the white people of the respective sections. The North, and even many in the South, have assumed a decline in manufactures and commerce, to be a decline of general prosperity. This is an error. The policy of the Federal Government, and the domestic institutions of the Southern States, have indeed been unfavorable to the latter in those pursuits, but the agriculture of the South has maintained and advanced its prosperity beyond that of any other people.

Let us first examine the condition of the white people of the two sections.

The State of Massachusetts for instance, is generally regarded as one of the most successful and flourishing of the North; and is constantly referred to by the newspapers as a model for all the others, and very frequently as a taunt to the Southern. If, however, we compare this favorite of the North, with Maryland, a Southern State of similar territorial extent, and one of the least of the Southern States, we shall find the latter to be decidedly superior in wealth in proportion to the number of her citizens. According to the census of 1840, Maryland had a free population of 380,282, and in 1847 her property was assessed at \$202,272,650.* Massachusetts in 1840 had a population of 737,699, and her property now is only \$300,000,000. Taking these two assessments as the basis of comparison, and it appears that the average property of a free person in Maryland was \$531, whilst in Massachusetts it is now in the palmyest days she has ever seen only \$406 per head—the freeman of Maryland being 25 per cent. richer.

The States of New York and Virginia are both of great territorial extent, and not materially unequal in that respect; New York is also regarded habitually, as one of the grandest products of free institutions—and the present condition of Virginia is continually referred to, as a striking and melancholy result of slavery. Her poverty, her ignorance, her idleness, her decay, and her misery are the threadbare topics of modern political philosophy here and abroad. Let us now consider the facts. Her free population in 1840, according to the census was 790,810, and her property is now about \$600,000,000.† The population of New York, in 1840, was 2,428,921, and in 1847 her property was assessed at \$632,699,993. The average

* American Almanac.

† The property of Massachusetts is stated according to recent estimates in her papers. That of Virginia was computed at the amount now assumed in 1834 by Prof. Dew. I have seen no official statement. But if she taxes other property as high as negroes, the total must now far exceed that estimate, as in 1847 she taxed 252,317 adult slaves at \$80,741, who are worth about \$100,000,000, and taxes her other property, real and personal, \$364,454, exclusive of merchant's stock; and the Governor's Message states there has been an increase of 5 per cent. in every item of taxation last year.

property of a free person in Virginia is \$758; in New York it is only \$260, or a little more than one-third.

Virginia, instead of being poor and in need of the pity of the much poorer population of the North, is perhaps the richest community in the world. The average wealth of the people of Great Britain may be about the same, but it is not near so productive, and I think it demonstrable that no people on earth live in a condition of greater comfort and enjoyment than those of Virginia. Nor is there any reason to fear a decline in her wealth. According to the census returns of 1840, Virginia with a free population of less than one-third of that of New York, and a capital something less, produced from the various branches of her industry, more than half the product of New York; and as the total population of Virginia slave and free is only about half of that of New York, it is clear that after deducting the annual consumption of both, Virginia will have a larger proportional surplus remaining to augment the stock of her permanent property.

If now we examine the relative condition of the new States the same results are apparent. The States of Kentucky and Ohio lie side by side, and are of similar climate, fertility, and extent—the proportion of rich land being, however, less in Kentucky. Their age is also nearly the same, Kentucky having been admitted as a State about eleven years before Ohio. Ohio is considered the most prosperous State in the

NOTE BY EDITOR OF REVIEW.—In 1850 the free population of Massachusetts was 994,514, and the aggregate value of real and personal estate, by the U. S. Census, \$373,342,286, or \$576 to each free person. The real and personal estate of Virginia amounted to \$391,646,438, and her free population to 949,133, or \$412 to each person, whilst New York, with a free population of 3,097,394, had but \$1,080,309,216, or \$348 to each person. South Carolina and Louisiana both exceeded Massachusetts and New York largely.

	Free inhab's, 1850.	Real & personal property, 1850.	To each person.
South Carolina....	283,523	\$288,257,694	\$1,017
Louisiana.....	272,953	233,998,764	859
Virginia.....	949,133	391,646,438	412
New York.....	3,097,394	1,080,309,216	348
Massachusetts.....	994,514	573,392,286	576

The *personal* estate of the Southern States includes, in part, slaves; excluding these altogether, and the valuation of property to each inhabitant (bond and free) in South Carolina and Louisiana, will be as large, if not a little larger than in Massachusetts. The valuations were ascertained by the Assistant Marshals in taking the Census of 1850. The abolitionists objected to the South Carolina returns, that they were greater than those which were furnished by the State legislature, being ignorant of the fact that the valuation of real estate for purposes of taxation in that State was fixed long ago, and remains permanent, the land being only classed as of first, second, and third quality, etc. In the blindness of their zeal they could not see that the city returns of Charleston gave a larger valuation of property than was claimed by them for the whole State! Though the mistake was promptly pointed out and corrected by the Editor of this Review, then Superintendent of the Census, the abolition press has ever since continued to reiterate its gross perversion of the truth.

West, and is continually contrasted with Kentucky for the purpose of illustrating the blighting effects of slavery on the latter. Let us see with what reason.

In 1840, Kentucky had a free population of 597,570, and her property amounts, according to her tax assessment of 1848, to about 272,847,696.* Ohio, in 1840, had a population of 1,519,467, and her assessment last year was 421,067,991.† The average value of property belonging to each free person in Kentucky is \$456—in Ohio it is only \$276, or more than one-third less; and as the population of Ohio is now still greater in proportion to that of Kentucky than in 1840 the difference in favor of the latter is still more.‡

Nothing is more common than the opinion that the price of land in Kentucky is, in consequence of slavery, much lower than in Ohio. I have examined the Auditor's report of both States, which present in detail the valuation of all their lands. In Kentucky the average value is about seven dollars per acre, in Ohio it is about eleven, and I am very confident that the quality of Ohio land is to that extent superior—as in Kentucky there is a large mountain region for which Ohio has nothing equivalent. Thus, then, it is manifest that the free people of the slaveholding States—of those States which are uniformly regarded as the victims of poverty and ruin, are all richer, much richer, than those of the non-slaveholding States, which have been usually considered as the most flourishing members of this Confederacy and the most prosperous communities the world ever saw. Such at least is the testimony of official documents on the subject—the higher authority that exists. For I have taken nearly all the statements of the property of the several States alluded to, from the assessments made by public officers, for the collection of taxes. Of the accuracy of the valuations, it is of course impossible to speak from personal knowledge; but those of Ohio and Kentucky are, according to my opportunities of observation, as nearly correct as need be desired. And as to the other States the chances of error are perhaps as great on one side as the other.

In the slaveholding States, slaves are of course included in the property. This is sometimes objected to, but I think without reason. The question is, which is the most profitable investment of capital—in land and slaves—as is usual in the slaveholding States—or in land alone, or commerce and manu-

* Ky. Auditor's Report, 1848.

† Ohio Auditor's Report.

‡ By the Census of 1850, the value to each free person was \$398 in Kentucky, and \$254 in Ohio. Even excluding the value of slaves, the amount of property to each inhabitant of Kentucky, slave and free was \$307, or one-sixth greater than in Ohio.—Editor Review.

factures, as in the Northern States? And this question is almost universally decided in favor of the latter. In the South, according to its laws, the slave is as available to his owner for the purposes of property, as any other property. The North has held, however, that this peculiar species of property, instead of being profitable to the owner, has been impoverishing and ruinous. And in contradiction to this, I have shown that in every community where it exists, there wealth abounds to a far greater extent than in the States from which it is excluded, whatever may be their climate, soil, or territory. But even if the assessed value of all the slaves in Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland, were left out of the schedule of their property, the white people of those States would still remain wealthier, on an average, than those of Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts.

COMMERCE OF THE OHIO AND WESTERN RIVERS, IMPORTANCE OF RAILROADS IN A MILITARY POINT OF VIEW.

In reply to a call for information on this subject addressed by the House of Representatives to the Secretary of War, there is an interesting report from Capt. W. R. Palmer, of the corps of topographical engineers, which contains the following facts:

"At high water the true length of the Ohio is 950 miles. It drains an area of from two hundred to two hundred and twenty thousand square miles, very nearly equal to double the area of Great Britain and Ireland. Its natural resources are great; its navigation is by steamboats, barges, and flatboats, mostly built upon the river. The aggregate number of boats built on the river prior to 1849 was 1,656; since that period to 1856 the number is 622; total 2,278; alive and fit for service 900; lost, destroyed, or worn out 1,378.

"The flatboat commerce is valued at \$4,500,000 annually; the steamboats at \$134,130,000. The number of passengers in 1851 of and from Louisville, Cincinnati, Wheeling, and Pittsburg is set down at 958,711; the number for the year ending the 30th of June, 1856, at 1,150,453. The total value of commerce by land and water of the Ohio valley is estimated at \$371,255,836. The value of imports at Cincinnati is stated to be \$80,571,283, of exports \$54,373,553; total value \$134,945,831. In addition to the ordinary imports there are taken to Cincinnati, for consumption, coal, boards, and produce amounting to \$6,310,000."

These figures, it is added, give less than half of the entire commerce of the Ohio valley, the residue being carried on by

canals and railroads. A large portion is for domestic consumption, and does not appear as articles of commerce on the river.

One of the inquiries of the House had reference to the relative value for military defense of the Western rivers, canals and railroads, as now severally provided with means of transportation. The Department, though not prepared to answer in regard to all the points suggested, remarked that "Generally, it may be safely stated that our Western rivers, canals and railroads, have largely increased the military power of the United States for defensive purposes, by the facilities their present means of transportation afford for the rapid and certain movement and concentration of troops and supplies at most of the assailable points of the country."

Gen. Jesup, the Quartermaster General, remarks: "I can safely say that the rivers, canals, and railroads, with their present means of transportation, taken together, have more than quadrupled the military power of the Western States for defensive purposes, by the facilities they afford for the rapid and certain movement of troops and military supplies; for the relative military power of States depends, not so much upon numbers and means, as the ability to concentrate both, where they are required to be used, either for defence or offence."

Gen. Totten, chief engineer, answers more elaborately, and shows the relative value of railroads and canals, each useful in their way—the one where speed is demanded, the other where time is not important, in point of economy. Dividing the country into four sections, he presents the mode of defending each by fortifications and batteries and the use of the improvements referred to. He concludes by saying:

"Should a case occur where the whole strength of the nation would be required to repel an attack even greater than that on Sebastopol, the rivers, canals, and railroads of the West, as means of transportation, would afford important aid in the defence."

NEGRO LIFE AT THE SOUTH.

Some one writing in the New York Day Book from Fairfield, Alabama, treats of this subject with some free but truthful dashes. Who that knows the South well can fail to recall much that is akin in every neighborhood. Yet ignorance will continue its prating, and in the effort to make a better world, will constantly mar the beauties to be found in this.

I am by profession a dental surgeon, and am often called *by owners* to operate on their servant's teeth. I have, in one

instance, inserted a full set of upper teeth for a negro woman, and was paid by her master \$75 00 for the same. I very frequently insert partial sets and single teeth for servants, and plugging, cleansing, etc., is common, all paid for by their owners. In your philanthropic city, many years ago, when the art of making porcelain teeth was not known, beautiful young women, who were poor and suffering for food and raiment, have been known to *sell* their beautiful teeth to dentists to be substituted for lost ones in the mouths of the rich. A few days since I asked a negro on a cotton plantation near here what he would take for one of his teeth; said he, "sell my teef!—yah! yah! Why, Mars. R., dar aint cotton bales enough on de Tom Bigby river to buy one of my teef. Mars. R., whar you get dat blanket you got on?"

"I got it at Warsaw, Joe."

"What you give for it, Mars R?"

"I gave six dollars for it, Joe."

"Only six dollars! Well I'se gwine right down dar nex Saturday an git me one—be so good to war in de rain and when I go possom an coon huntin."

It is a very common thing here for slaves to order their year's supply of family groceries from Mobile. I have often seen such bills as the following filled for them and the cash paid by themselves:—1 bbl. molasses; 1 bbl. sugar; 1 bbl. flour; $\frac{1}{2}$ sack coffee; 1 box cheese; $\frac{1}{2}$ box tobacco, and, in many instances, $\frac{1}{2}$ bbl. mackerel.

I very frequently see "slaves" applying to merchants here to change 50 and 100 dollar bills for them. They do not like to lay up paper money, and get their bills exchanged for silver and gold. I do not speak of fancy negroes, such as barbers and hotel waiters, but of plantation negroes. Many of them sport an excellent watch, keep a horse, and raise cattle, hogs, and poultry, and some are allowed to keep a gun and hunt at will in leisure time, such as Saturday evenings. We have an instance here in Alabama of the "slaves" on one plantation contributing forty dollars for the relief of Ireland during the last famine in that country.

Since I commenced this letter, a man "*slave*," who is *hired* on a cotton plantation near here, came in the store and bought 80 pounds tobacco at 30 cents per pound. These are only a few instances of every day occurrence. I will venture to say that I could in one week raise money enough by contribution, from "*slaves*" *alone*, to feed six families who are suffering most from hunger in the city of New York. They are the happiest people I have ever seen; there is scarcely such a thing as sorrow known to them; they are a lively, cheerful, laugh-and-grow-fat set. There may be some, particularly in

Boston, who will not believe these facts, but let them come and see, and if they will do neither, let them take the jay bird's Friday flight and see their relations. I am indeed sorry for the poor deluded fanatics whose hearts are bleeding for a people who laugh to scorn their mock sympathies. It is a custom with many planters to give to their negroes annual and some semi-annual jubilees, fine barbecues, &c. On one of these occasions I happened at the house of Mr. V. G. Pruit, of Madison county, Alabama. Mutton, kid, beef, shoat, and roast turkeys were the meats; besides these there was several kinds of fruit, pies, and tarts, preserves, jellies, jams, &c., and at each plate a *tumbler* of wine and a goblet of cordial; ice and ice water in abundance; water-melons; musk-melons and cantaloupes in profusion, and a *breakfast plate of ice cream* for each of the *forty sable diners*. The dinner was prepared exclusively for negroes, and no attempt at display, as there was no visitors except myself, Mr. Pruit's brother, his family physician, and two female cousins who live very near him. How many New Yorkers and Bostonians are there, whose hearts are *bleeding* for the "poor slaves of the South," and whose lips never tasted, whose eyes never beheld in all their life time, such luxuries as these *slaves* are accustomed to having at least once or twice a year!

THE WAR UPON SOCIETY—SOCIALISM.

We congratulate you Mr. Reviewer, and we hope we shall soon have cause to congratulate our whole country, that you are devoting your Review, in part, to the cause of conservatism—to the defence of our old and established institutions of the North and the South, now all equally assailed by the Black Republicans, or Socialists, of the North, under the lead of Seward, Greeley, Garrison, Gerrit Smith, and others. Never have a people been so prosperous or so happy as the people of this Union, whether we look to the North or the South. What affords still stronger grounds for pride, gratulation, and conservatism, is, that we are not only happy and prosperous ourselves, but the great promoters of the well-being and happiness of all christendom. The South does much to feed and clothe mankind. The North is the great portal through which passes the mighty exodus of the starving and oppressed millions of Europe, on their way to happier climes in the West. The two, combined, are continually annexing and opening up new regions to furnish homes and competency to this great and increasing stream of immigration. Evils, there are, no doubt, in the social forms of each section, but none such as to

warrant their subversion and reconstruction—none which are not to a great extent necessary evils, or agencies of greater good. Slavery at the South is sometimes attended with abuses, yet the unexampled increase in the number of our slaves, proves, that on the whole the institution is kindly, patriarchal, and protective.

Rapid immigration is continually overstocking the labor market of the North, and crowding the poor out of employment, or reducing their wages to the starving point. Capital and skill, neglect, exact from, tax and oppress the free laborers of the North, more than Southern masters dare do to their slaves, for it is their interest, as well as legal obligation, to protect them. Yet, the free laborer at the North is better off than the slave, for in forty-eight hours he may migrate to the great West, and become an independent proprietor. The exactions and oppressions of skill and capital drive population Westward, prevent its excessive accumulation on the Atlantic, disperse and diffuse population, and open up the desert places of the earth for the residences of man. Thus considered the despotism of Northern capital, becomes a potent agent for the advancement of human good. As well quarrel with Providence for the pains and perils of parturition, as complain of the sufferings of the mighty exodus that daily wends its way through the North. They are but the pains of a regenerative nature. Emigration has ever been attended with destitution, sickness, and mortality, but the ultimate good attained far overbalances the perils, privations, and sufferings endured in its pursuit.

You, Mr. Reviewer, have struck the first blow for conservatism. In Western Europe every body is a socialist. No journal and no administration dare defend the established order of things. Louis Napoleon, and Eugenie, are theoretical and practical socialists, and have been engaged in building homes for the laborer; Henry the VI, the Bourbon heir to the throne of France, is an avowed socialist. Mr. Greely informs us that the Queen of England is also a socialist. The Young England party, belonging to the most ultra wing of the Tories, are also socialists, as Coningsby, written by their leader D'Israeli, will show; Carlyle, Dickens, Bulwer, Thackeray, the Clergy, and the Poets of England, are socialists. In France and Germany all are socialists. Every body agrees in Western Europe, that mis-called, free, competitive society, is a failure. That "let alone," "every man for himself," and "*pas trop gouverner*," have, to use the words of Mr. Greely, "run the length of their tether." But American socialists are like the courtiers of Alexander, imitating his wry neck. Universal liberty and free competition, are unmitigated evils in old and

populous countries, the most active and effective agencies for good in new ones. Were white agricultural labor available in the South, universal liberty, and no negroes, would best suit us; but experience shows that it is not, and the South, but for negro slavery, would become, like Mexico, the West Indies, all South America, a mere "*caput mortuum*," useless to the world, and infested by semi-barbarians.

We are surprised it has never occurred to conservatives at the North, to oppose and refute these destructive doctrines of the socialists, by showing that free competition and the exactions of capital, which have occasioned the failure of society in Europe, are salutary agents in America, by dispensing population, and can only become injurious when all the lands between the Atlantic and Pacific are settled and monopolized, and a reflux population is pouring back on the East. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof." The human species have not always multiplied, and thousands of years may occur ere America is peopled to repletion. We have an abiding confidence in the practical sagacity of our people, and do not doubt they will devise means to meet the evils of the future as they arise. Individuals and societies are gifted by Providence with just enough of reason, instinct, and wisdom, to provide for themselves, and for the present. They always err when they lay down rules for all ages and all peoples. We hate system builders, abstractionists, and moral theorists. God and Nature build systems. Man can only partially analyze them. The socialism of Mr. Greely is not a whit more absurd than Plato's Republic, or Sir Thomas Moore's Utopia. The construction of social forms is a thing in which simpletons succeed quite as well as the wisest, and Mr. Greely is no simpleton. We may teach and improve a man, but cannot make one. It would be easier to make a man than a society, which is composed of thousands of men.

We have very recently come in possession of a pamphlet containing a discussion of "Association," by Horace Greely and H. J. Raymond. Doctrines promulgated by Mr. Greely are things of national importance, because his paper, the Tribune, leads the opposition, and is more read than any paper in America. Seward and Sumner, and Parker, Smith, and Garrison, and all the other heads of the opposition, are socialists, committed to more than revolution—to the total destruction of all the institutions of society, North and South. These institutions, you, Mr. Reviewer, have thrown down the gauntlet and entered the lists to defend. You are the first champion of conservatism—the first who proposes to carry on active hostilities against free lovers, agrarians, infidels, abolitionists, and no-government men. We hope others will soon

follow your example, for in America alone can conservatism make a stand. The very Pope of Rome is a social reformer, unless his disastrous experiment at reform has satisfied him of his folly, and changed his opinions. The North as well as the South should encourage your undertaking, for socialism assails with some success Northern institutions in a dozen forms; whilst, as yet, it only hurls the "*bruteum fulmen*" of Abolition at the South.

Mr. Greely attacks, with equal hostility, liberty at the North and slavery at the South. He says society has failed at the North and in Western Europe, because it is free. "Let alone" and "every man for himself" have run the length of their tether. But these are mere definitions of liberty; therefore, liberty is an evil, and must be abolished at the North, and substituted by association—which, to be practical, is slavery.

We have association, division of labor, and of expenses, and agrarianism—for slaves have an interest in the land at the South; but, Southern association, which is natural, and God ordained, Mr. Greely would abolish, and substitute for it, his unnatural, infidel, sensual, impracticable phalansteries. He is a heap of contradictions. Whilst he denounces liberty in one form, as defined by political economists, he goes in practice far beyond these philosophers in the latitude of his "let alone" doctrines, for he proposes to govern man by passion attraction and attractive labor, instead of those coercive institutions, which even the economists deem necessary.

With a despotic head or master, Mr. Greely's association would be simply Southern slavery. Without such head or master, no association can succeed. The Jesuits, Catholic Nuns and Monks, Rappists, Shakers, Moravians, Mormons, and Zoarites, are instances of voluntary servitude, and succeed because of such servitude. Few of the human family will, however, submit to voluntary servitude, and involuntary slavery in old countries becomes necessary to govern and protect the masses.

Mr. Greely writes eloquently and feelingly. He is no doubt a sincere philanthropist;* but his philosophy is neither accurate or profound. He possesses but little power of analysis. He proposes no remedy for the *exploitation* or exaction of skill and capital. These are the great evils of free society in old countries, where laborers cannot escape by emigration from their influence. Mr. Stephen Peale Andrews, in his "Science of Society," has demonstrated this with great ability. Domestic slavery alone can redress or palliate those evils. It is the natural remedy, and, therefore, the proper one.

* Query.—(EDITOR.)

We are sure, that this pamphlet, in its exposition of the intolerable evils of free society, is the ablest defence of slavery ever written in America. We wish it were in the hands of every Southern and of every Northern man, so that all might see the extent of the destructive projects of the Black Republicans, as expounded by their great editorial leader. Mr. Greeley does not only demonstrate the necessity of slavery after lands are monopolized by the few; but he also shows, with great power and clearness, the superiority of the associative domestic slavery of the South to serfdom, predial slavery, or any other social organization, except the illusive utopia which he in vain pursues.

Society has, for half a century, been convulsed to its foundation in Western Europe, and is threatened with convulsion in America. It is time for conservatism to look about itself, gird on its armor, and prepare for the contest. Mere abolition is the slightest social evil of the day, for slavery is advancing and abolition receding. Socialism, which threatens alike North and South, and proposes to upset all institutions, is the enemy with which we have to contend. We shall succeed; because there are no evils, North or South, requiring such radical changes as these reformers propose. Yet, the dangers which we passed through in the late canvass, and the number of the Black Republicans in Congress, remind us of the necessity of vigilance and activity.

It is unfortunate that the soubriquet Black was given to the Republicans. It seems to denote that they are a mere sectional abolition party, wards off attention from their revolutionary designs at home, and gives them the advantage of that sectional feeling, which is common, in some degree, to all men.

Had they been called Red Republicans, or Socialistic Republicans, the name would have warned men of the extent of their purposes, united conservatives, North and South, in defence of our common institutions, and suggested the best arguments to defeat their destructive aims.

The North and South never had occasion for so cordial a union, because their mutual dependence increases every day. Difference of social institutions begets difference of industrial pursuits and products, makes one section the market for the other, increases trade and intercourse, and *should strengthen* the bands of friendship and of union. When we add to these considerations the common danger with which we are threatened by the assaults of Black Republicanism, none can fail to see the necessity of good understanding between us, unless they be socialists themselves.

We were reviled, not reviewed, in the Tribune, for asserting the failure of free society in our sociology for the South. Let

the reader remember that slavery was universal in Europe, except in a few cities, until within the last five centuries; and he will see from the passages we shall first cite from Mr. Greeley, that he explicitly asserted this same fact, the failure of free society, before we did:

"That, in those ages of rude implements and unskillful husbandry, there were sometimes famines after bad harvests or the desolations of war, is quite true; so there are now. These do not effect the general and appalling truth that during the last five centuries there has been a complete and disastrous revolution in the ordinary condition of the toiling millions of civilized Europe (for the same is true of other countries as well as England, in proportion to their increase in population and individual wealth)—a revolution which has depressed them from comfort to wretchedness, from careless ease to incessant anxiety and struggle for the bare means of existence. They have reached that point where, in the words of the Westminster Review, 'there is not a step but merely a hand's-breadth between the condition of the agricultural laborer and pauperism.' Instead of the fare of his ancestors described above, his family are scantily subsisted on potatoes and salt, bread and lard, with a little intensely-skimmed milk as an occasional luxury. His weekly wages will barely procure this diet and pay the rent of his cot, and when sickness or a failure of employment overtakes him, he is driven to beggary or the union workhouse.

"Will any say, you are talking of *British* distresses: what do they prove as to *us*? Ah, sir! the same general causes which have produced this fearful change in Europe are now at work here. Population is rapidly increasing; wealth is concentrating; the Public Lands are rapidly passing into private ownership, often by tens of thousands of acres to a single individual. And as our population becomes compact, and land costly as in England, the evils now experienced by the many in Europe, will gradually fasten upon their brethren here. Our political institutions may do something to mitigate this; but how much? The master-evil in the condition of the English and Irish is the monopoly by the few of the God-given elements of production, which are necessary to all. Abolish monarchy, titles of nobility, church establishment, national debt, and whatever else you please, so long as the land shall remain the exclusive property of a small and isolated class, competition for the use of it as active as now, and rents consequently as high, so long will nothing have been accomplished beyond clearing away some of the elementary obstacles to the real and essential reform.

"But in our own country the footsteps of advancing destitution and abject dependence for the many, already sound ominously near. In our journals are advertisements to let out some hundreds of robust men from the immigrant alms-houses to work through the winter for their board, while tens of thousands in our city would gladly have been so disposed of from December to April. Nor is this lack of employment by any means confined to immigrants with those displaced by them. Thousands of American-born women are at this moment working long days in our city, for less than the cost of one good meal of victuals per day, (say twenty-five cents;) and it was but yesterday that a friend, living in the country, casually informed me that he could hire as much farm labor in winter as he wanted, for the laborer's own board, or for 37½ cents per day without board. And these laborers are not foreigners, but the descendants of those who won our liberties on the battle-fields of the Revolution.

"I rest here my arguments on the point that THERE MUST BE A SOCIAL REFORM—a reform which shall secure to labor unfailing employment and adequate recompense; to children and youth, universally, ample and thorough education, moral, intellectual, and physical; and to the poor as well as rich comfortable, abiding homes, the largest opportunities for social and mental elevation, with freedom from incessant anxiety for work and bread. We have the confessions of the best thinkers and ablest journals in the Old World (see London Times, also Morning Chronicle) that the old order of things has proved a failure—that new principles must be invoked, and new and profounder remedies for social

evils be resorted to. (See also the Queen's late speech.) 'Let us alone' and 'every man for himself' have gone to the end of their tether; we must now try the opposite principle of 'each for all,' and seek individual only through universal good."

We are sure when you abolish in practical application the doctrines of "let alone," and "every man for himself," you "abolish liberty and establish slavery." Mr. Greeley thinks there is an intermediate state of passional attraction (alias Free Love or attractive labor,) which is neither liberty or slavery. But all experience contradicts his theory. Mr. Greeley most truly informs us, that within the last five hundred years, there has occurred a "revolution which has depressed them (the white laborers of Europe) from comfort to wretchedness, from careless ease to incessant anxiety and struggle for the bare necessities of life." He well knows that this revolution has been emancipation from feudal and domestic servitude, and the remission to slavery to capital, to (so called) liberty and "let alone." He has (unconsciously perhaps) asserted in the strongest terms, that emancipation has ruined the whites. Yet he would liberate the negroes. Are negroes fitted for liberty and white men incapable of enjoying it? Then reverse the decision in the Dred Scott case. Make negroes citizens and deprive white laborers of the privilege. Negrophilism overlooks and neglects the whites in its rampart crusade to make savages and pagans of the blacks.

We will now quote the whole of the able and eloquent letter with which the Tribune opens the controversy, and conclude by quoting part of Mr. Raymond's summing up, which, to us, appears full and fair. The North and the South should study socialism, for it has become a mighty and active power in the world:

"I open the proposed discussion by the statement of a few rudimental propositions, intended to show that justice to the poor and wretched demands of the more fortunate classes a radical social reform. Let it be termed a summary setting forth

Of Rights and Obligations.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

"The earth, the air, the waters, the sunshine, with their natural products, were divinely intended and appointed for the use and sustenance of man (Gen. i. 26, 28)—not for a part only, but for the whole human family.

"Civilized society, as it exists in our day, has divested the larger portion of mankind of the unimpeded, unpurchased enjoyment of these natural rights. That larger portion may be perishing with cold, yet have no legally recognized right to a stick of decaying fuel in the most unfrequented morass, or may be famishing, yet have no legal right to pluck and eat the bitterest acorn in the depths of the remotest wilderness. The defeasance or confiscation of man's natural, right to use any portion of the earth's surface not actually in use by another, is an important fact, to be kept in view in every consideration of the duty of the affluent and comfortable to the poor and unfortunate.

"It is not essential in this place to determine that the divestment of the larger number of any recognized right to the soil and its products, save by the pur-

chased permission of others, was or was not politic and necessary. All who reflect must certainly admit that many of the grants of land by hundreds of square miles to this or that favorite of the power which assumed to make them were made thoughtlessly or recklessly, and would not have been so large or so unaccompanied with stipulations in behalf of the future occupants and cultivators, if a reasonable foresight and a decent regard for the general good had been cherished and evinced by the granting power. Suffice it here, however, that the granting of the soil—of the State of New York, for example—by the supreme authority representing the whole to a minor portion of the whole is a "fixed fact." By a law of nature, every person born in the State of New York had (unless forfeited by crime) a perfect right to be here, and to his equal share of the soil, the woods, the waters, and all the natural products thereof. By the law of society all but the possessors of title-deeds exist here only by the purchased permission of the land-owning class, and were intruders and trespassers on the soil of their nativity without that permission. By law, the landless have no inherent right to stand on a single square foot of the State of New York except in the high ways.

"The only solid ground on which this surrender of the original property of the whole to a minor portion can be justified is that of PUBLIC GOOD—the good, not of a part, but of a whole. The people of a past generation, through their rulers, claimed and exercised the right of divesting, not themselves merely, but the majority of all future generations, of their original and inherent right to possess and cultivate any unimproved portion of the soil of our State for their own sustenance and benefit. To render this assumption of power valid to the fearful extent to which it was exercised, it is essential that it be demonstrated that the good of the whole was promoted by such exercise.

"Is this rationally demonstrable now? Can the widow, whose children pine and shiver in some bleak, miserable garret, on the fifteen or twenty cents, which is all she can earn by unremitted toil, be made to realize that she and her babes are benefitted by or in consequence of the granting to a part an exclusive right to use the earth and enjoy its fruits? Can the poor man who day after day paces the streets of a city in search of any employment at any price, (as thousands are now doing here,) be made to realize it on his part? Are there not thousands on thousands—natives of our State who never willfully violated her laws—who are to-day far worse off than they would have been if nature's rule of allowing no man to appropriate to himself any more of the earth than he can cultivate and improve had been recognized and respected by society? These questions admit of but one answer. And one inevitable consequence of the prevailing system is that, as population increases and arts are perfected, the income of the wealthy owner of land increases while the recompense of the hired or leasehold cultivator is steadily diminishing. The labor of Great Britain is twice as effective now as it was a century ago, but the laborer is worse paid, fed, and lodged than he then was, while the incomes of the landlord class have been enormously increased. The same fundamental causes exist here, and tend to the same results. They have been modified, thus far, by the existence, within or near our State, of large tracts of unimproved land, which the owners were anxious to improve or dispose of on almost any terms. These are growing scarcer and more remote; they form no part of the system we are considering, but something which exists in opposition to it, which modifies it, but is absolutely sure to be ultimately absorbed and conquered by it. The notorious fact that they do serve to mitigate the exactions to which the landless mass, even in our long and densely-settled towns and cities, are subject, serves to show that the condition of the great mass must inevitably be far worse than at present when the natural consummation of land-selling is reached, and all the soil of the Union has become the property of a minor part of the people of the Union.

"The past can not be recalled. What has been rightfully (however mistakenly) done by the authorized agents of the state or nation, can only be retracted upon urgent public necessity, and upon due satisfaction to all whose private rights are thereby invaded. But those who have been divested of an important, a vital natural right, are also entitled to compensation. THE RIGHT TO LABOR, secured to them in the creation of the earth, taken away in the granting of the

soil to a minor portion of them, must be restored. Labor, essential to all, is the inexorable condition of the honest, independent subsistence of the poor. It must be fully guaranteed to all, so that each may know that he can never starve nor be forced to beg while able and willing to work. Our public provision for pauperism is but a halting and wretched substitute for this. Society exercises no paternal guardianship over the poor man until he has surrendered to despair. He may spend a whole year and his little all in vainly seeking employment, and all this time society does nothing, cares nothing for him; but when his last dollar is exhausted, and his capacities very probably prostrated by the intoxicating draughts to which he is driven to escape the horrors of reflection, then he becomes a subject of public charity, and is often maintained in idleness for the rest of his days at a cost of thousands, when a few dollars' worth of foresight and timely aid might have preserved him from this fate, and in a position of independent usefulness for his whole after-life.

"But the right to labor—that is, to constant employment with a just and full recompense—can not be guaranteed to all without a radical change in our social economy. I, for one, am very willing, nay, most anxious, to do my full share toward securing to every man, woman, and child, full employment and a just recompense for all time to come. I feel sure this can be accomplished. But I can not, as the world goes, give employment at any time to all who ask it of me, nor the hundredth part of them. "Work, work! give us something to do!—any thing that will secure us honest bread," is at this moment the prayer of not less than thirty thousand human beings within sound of our City-hall bell. They would gladly be producers of wealth, yet remain from week to week mere consumers of bread which somebody has to earn. Here is an enormous waste and loss. We must devise a remedy. It is the duty, and not less the palpable interest, of the wealthy, the thrifty, the tax-paying, to do so. The remedy, I propose to show, is found in ASSOCIATION. H. G."

"Here we close the discussion of Association, to which we were challenged by the Tribune. We have not given the system that methodical and complete examination which can alone do justice to its principles and pretensions. Our remarks have been desultory and discursive, because the form of controversy compelled us to follow in the path which our opponents chose to take. Very many points of more or less interest, we are thus enforced to leave untouched. The provisions of the system for civil government; its 'sacred legion' for the performance of the 'filthy functions' of society; its asserted power to reclaim deserts, to redeem alike the torrid and the frigid zones from their excessive heat and cold; these claims, like many others which the system presents, must remain unnoticed. Its practical aspects and essential principles have formed the only topic of this discussion; and with regard to them, we think the following leading positions have been established by evidence and argument which the Tribune has failed to shake:

"I. Association ascribes all the existing evil to what it terms the 'FALSE ORGANIZATION of society,' and it seeks to cure it, therefore, by giving to society a new and widely different organization from that which now prevails.

"II. This reorganization of society is to be universal, and embrace all departments of social life. All social forms and institutions, it is alleged, are radically wrong; all, therefore, must be radically and completely changed.

"III. LABOR is the first thing to be reformed. Existing society authorizes the 'monopoly of land,' and thus excludes a part of its members from sharing this God-given element, and from working upon it, and enjoying the fruits of their labor. Association proposes, therefore, to *abolish* private property in land; to make the soil the *joint* property of masses of men, all of whom can work upon it and share its fruits, but none of whom can have in it any private and exclusive ownership; and by this means to *increase* and render *fixed* the reward of mere labor, without making it, in any degree, dependent upon capital. We have proved (1.) That capitalists never can be induced to enter into this arrangement: (2.) That the denial of the right of private property in *land* involves the denial of the right to own any thing: (3.) That the very root and foundation of all

civilization and progress are thus destroyed: (4.) That such a community of property and labor, if it were feasible, would beget discontent and strife, and so involve the elements of its own destruction: (5.) That the reward of labor can not be made *fixed*, because it must always, *ex necessitate rei*, depend upon the fluctuating ratio of the supply to the demand; and (6.) That the effect of this system of owning the soil, if carried out, would render *capitalists* the sole owners of all the land, and laborers everywhere their tenants and serfs. Its only effect would be, therefore, vastly to *increase* the evils which it seeks to remedy.

"IV. The ISOLATED HOUSEHOLD is the next false institution of the present society, to be reformed. As a general thing, each family now inhabits a separate house. Association proposes that this shall be abandoned, as expensive, selfish, and inconvenient; and that all shall live in one *common house*, having their cooking, washing, and all other domestic service performed in common; eating, as a general rule, at a common table, and leading in all essential respects a common life. Such an arrangement, we have contended—(1.) Would destroy that most potent spur to human effort, the desire of creating and enjoying an independent and separate *home*; (2.) That it would bring together persons of habits, tastes, convictions, prejudices, motives, and general characters utterly incompatible with each other; (3.) That it would fail to bring such discordant materials into the harmony of feeling, faith, and conduct essential to success; and (4.) That it would, so far as it should prove successful, destroy all individuality of character, and bring all men to a dead level of uniformity. It would be, therefore, in the first place, *impossible*; and, if not so, injurious to the best interests of all concerned.

"V. The EDUCATION OF CHILDREN is the next thing to be reformed. Now, infants are taken care of by their parents, or by hired nurses: they are subjected to their absolute control; they inherit their tastes and dispositions; there is no uniformity in their education, and therefore none in their belief or characters—and thus are perpetuated, from one generation to another, all the evils of the existing social state. Association proposes to commit all the infants to common nurses; to educate young children upon a common plan, and under the direction of an Elective Council; to release them from all constraint, leaving them to obey *none* but 'superiors of their own choice,' relieving the parents from all care of them, and the children from all obligation to obey their parents; and so forming their characters, and guiding their conduct in a way precisely opposite to that which now prevails. This system, we have shown—(1.) neglects entirely to take into account the strong instincts of parental and filial affection: (2.) That it, therefore, would prove impracticable; (3.) That it aims, avowedly, to *annul* the duty of filial obedience; (4.) That it *denies* explicitly the *RIGHT* of parental authority; and (5.) That it thus strikes a deadly blow at the very heart of the PARENTAL RELATION, as its nature is set forth and its duties defined in the Word of God.

"VI. The relation of HUSBAND and WIFE is now a fixed and permanent one: yet it often unites parties who have for each other no mutual love and keeps asunder those whom mutual passion impels to union. Public sentiment, legal enactments, the pecuniary dependence of woman, the embarrassing care of children, and all existing social usages combine to perpetuate and enforce this unnatural and unjust constraint. Association proposes to reorganize the marriage relation; to remove all the obstacles to the free sway of natural impulse; and to commit the intercourse of the sexes to the laws of human nature and individual passion, freed from all restraints and checks they now encounter. In order to effect this, it imposes on society the care of the children; repeals all legal disabilities; confers upon women perfect liberty in person, property, and affection; enlightens public sentiment; and so renders easy and unobstructed the full and free gratification of inconstant as well as of constant passions. We have demonstrated—(1.) That this is the aim and final purpose of this system of Social Reform; (2.) That, in not regarding marriage as a permanent institution of divine origin and sanctions, it rejects the teachings of Christ; and (3.) That its result would be the complete destruction of the MARRIAGE RELATION, and

the substitution for it of a systematized Polygamy, less regulated, less restrained, and therefore far *worse* than has ever been witnessed in any nation or in any age of the world.

"VII. The FAMILY, under the present Social system, is an institution narrow in its scope, selfish in its spirit, and injurious to social and human progress. It rests upon, and is sustained by, the isolated household, the parental relation, and the relation of husband and wife. So long as these exist, it will exist also. But association proposes, as we have already seen, to *reorganize*, and in effect, *destroy* all these relations. When that has been accomplished the FAMILY RELATION must, of course, fall to the ground, and the family *spirit* will be *absorbed* by the spirit of the association. In all this we have insisted—(1.) That the system seeks the destruction of an institution of divine origin—one that lies at the basis of all human improvement, that nourishes and develops all the best affections and sympathies of the human heart, and that does more for the preservation of order, of purity, and of civilization than all human institutions put together: (2.) That its purposes, are therefore hostile to the well-being of society; and (3.) That if carried out, they would sweep away the best and surest safeguards of the public good, and break down one of the strongest barriers ever erected against the destructive torrent of vice and misery.

"VIII. Under the existing system, the RESTRAINT OF HUMAN PASSIONS is made the great end of all Social Institutions. Education, law, the church, the family, all formal provisions for the public good, enforce the duty and necessity of *repressing* the passions and impulses of human nature. Association denounces this as a false and fruitless method. The natural impulses of man, it asserts, are *good*: evil results only from their repression. A true society, therefore should provide for their perfect and complete development. This is accordingly proposed as the great and controlling object of the new society which the system seeks to introduce. *The impulses of every human being, in the language of association, point out exactly his real functions and his true position in society.* This law, therefore, is to CONTROL, in every respect, the proposed reorganization of all social forms. Labor, education, the family, all modes of life and work, are to be brought under its complete command. (1.) In labor, men are to work, not under the guidance of necessity, but according to their likings; not separately, as their personal interests may dictate, but in *groups* and *series*, according to the law of passion attraction. (2.) In education, children are to learn, not what they are directed, but what they like; they are to obey, not their parents, but only 'superiors of their own choice;' and in all things, their path is to be indicated, not by the judgment of older and wiser persons, but by their own 'passional attractions.' (3.) In the conjugal relations, according to this fundamental law, those persons are to be united whose impulses prompt a union; if those impulses are constant, the union may be constant also; if they die, the union may be dissolved; if they change to other objects, they may still be gratified; and all the obstacles which public sentiment, the care of children, and the fear of consequences now oppose to such an arrangement will be removed; and, in the language of Fourier himself, the author of the System:

"A wife may have at the same time a husband of whom she may have two children:—2. A *genitor*, of whom she has but one child: 3. A *favorite*, who has lived with her and preserved the title; and further, simple *possessors* who are nothing before the law. This gradation of the title, establishes a great courteousness and great fidelity to the engagement. *Men do the same to their divers wives.* This method prevents completely the hypocrisy of which marriage is the source. Misses would by no means be degraded for having had 'gallants,' because they had waited before they took them, to the age of eighteen. They would be married without scruple. * * *Our ideas of the honor and virtue of women are but prejudices which vary with our legislation.*"*

* It has been repeatedly asserted by some of the advocates of association, that in after-life Fourier *changed* his views upon this subject, and *disclaimed* the opinions set forth in this extract, the authenticity of which is conceded. They were challenged to produce any evidence of this assertion. The only paragraph

"(4.) All the forms, and all the relations of Society are to be adapted to the wants of human nature;—to be shaped in exact accordance with the requirements of the law of *passional attraction*; so that, instead of *RESTRAINT*, the complete *SATISFACTION* of all the passions, shall be the controlling object of all social forms. It has been our aim, in this discussion, to prove that these *results* are actually involved in the principles, and contemplated in the practice of the *SYSTEM*. It has not been more than necessary to do more than this; as the *Tribune* has not seen fit to follow the inquiry into this branch of the subject.

"IX. In all its principles and all its arrangements, the *SYSTEM* of Association recognizes no higher rule of human conduct, no other standard of right and wrong, than that of the *LAW* OF HUMAN NATURE. These laws, in its whole reorganization of Society, are final and imperative. In this respect we contend, it is essentially and at bottom, a system of *INFIDELITY*, inasmuch as it discards the vital and absolute distinction between right and wrong; recognizes no such thing as conscience;—involves a denial of God as a moral being—the governor of the universe;—and is directly hostile, in its essence, to the most vital doctrines of the christian faith.

"That this is the true outline and character of the *SYSTEM* OF ASSOCIATION, first promulgated by Fourier, and now urged upon the adoption of the American people by the *Tribune*, we claim to have proved in the foregoing articles of this discussion. We do not assert, nor do we believe, that the editor of the *Tribune* aims at these results. On the contrary, if he believed that they were involved in the *System*, we have no doubt he would promptly discard it. But in our judgment, *they flow necessarily from the fundamental principle of the System*; and every step taken toward its supremacy, is a step toward *their establishment*."

which has ever been cited in its support, is the following—which we give at length, in order to preclude any charge of partial or unfair dealing:

"In 1807, my progress in the theory of Harmony, extended only to the relations of material love, which being the *easiest to calculate*, became naturally the object of the first studies.

"It was only in 1817, that I discovered the theory of Spiritual Love, in its simpler and higher degrees.

"No one ought to be astonished, if a statement written only eight years after the first discovery, I considered love only in its material relations, the theory of which was still exceedingly *incomplete*.

"A new science can attain its free development only by degrees, and for a long time is subjected to the influence of the tendencies prevailing around it. Situated as I was in the midst of civilizers, who are all sensualists, or nearly so, it was almost inevitable that in my first studies of love, as it will exist in the combined order, I should stop at the material part of the subject which alone opens a vast field for scientific calculations. Afterwards, I came to the spiritual part of the theory, which is much more difficult to unfold, I could not carry on both these branches together, and was obliged in 1807 to treat the relations of material love *into the system of which I had at that time an insight*."

"It will be seen here, that Fourier instead of *disclaiming* his former views and asserting that he had *changed* them, simply remarks that his scheme was then '*incomplete*,' and explicitly declares that in 1807 he had '*an insight*,' into the scientific principles of the '*system of material love*.' Nor have the American Associations ever repudiated, so far as we are aware, or disavowed these opinions. So far as they go, they are held to be just: the only complaint is that of Fourier, that the system is incomplete."

FREE TRADE AND DIRECT TAXES.

In the April number of the Review, page 358, we took occasion to express some surprise at the appearance of certain sentiments in the last Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the subject of protective duties, which seemed to us an abandonment of the principles of the party to which he belonged, and an endorsement of those so long and ably contended for by the opposition. That we may not be charged with injustice to that honorable gentleman, a few additional extracts will be given from his report.

Page 18. "Now we import \$1,940,697 of wool for our manufacturers, who pay a duty of 30 per cent. upon it; and we import \$23,297,384 of the manufactures of wool, on which we pay different rates of duty, viz: 30 per cent. on part, 25 per cent. on part, and 20 per cent. on part; whilst with wool free of duty in other manufacturing countries, the duty operates a discrimination against the labor and capital of our own people. This is peculiarly the case as to the coarser fabrics, which we admit at a less duty than we impose upon wool. It is an article for clothing and other uses that our climate and our habits do not permit us to dispense with, and which our people can, and will manufacture for themselves, if our tariff laws are arranged so as not to discriminate against them and in favor of other manufacturing nations."

Page 19. "The English prices current and statistics, show that the price of wool ranged higher the very first year after the duty was repealed than it had for years before, and it has continued to range higher ever since. It is confidently believed such would be the case in this country if the duty on the importation of wool was repealed, thereby giving our manufacturers wool on the same terms the foreign manufacturers obtain theirs."

Page 20. "Allow the incidental protection of a revenue tariff, and place our manufactures and productions upon the same beneficial footing that foreign manufacturers and producers enjoy in our own and foreign countries, by taking off the duty we now impose on the raw material, and give them fair and equal competition for the home and foreign markets, and we may safely leave all the rest to the skill and enterprise of our people."

Page 22. "In commercial intercourse with other nations, based upon equivalent exchanges, as it must always be, if profitable and continuous, we may well look forward to the time when we shall produce within our own limits all articles that are essential to national defence, and the use and comfort of our own people; and of these there is none more necessary to the defence of the country, and the use and comfort of the people, and of which we have better means of producing in the country, than iron and steel, and the manufactures of iron and steel."

Thus, then, according to the Secretary's argument, we must have *retaliatory legislation*, and must protect the woollen factories, suffering from free trade in the raw material in other countries. Discrimination against this industry must be removed, yet in the way of "incidental protection;" discrimination *against* every other branch of industry is proper enough! We are told, likewise, that to raise the price of an article, we have only to admit it free of duty, (as in the case of wool,) a stale and worn out argument of the protectionists, from which the equally sensible deduction may be made—that the higher the

duty the lower the price up to the point of actual prohibition, when it is to be supposed the price would be nothing at all.

"My pain is great because it is so small;
It would be greater were it none at all."

Mr. Guthrie was undoubtedly an able executive officer, and managed the details of the Treasury and the custody of the public money in a manner satisfactory to the nation, and on these accounts is entitled to the highest consideration; but upon subjects of political economy, tariffs, and revenues, he seems to have groped his way at times very obscurely. We say this in sorrow more than anger, but in defence of truth, and by way of protest against the doctrines of his report. Mr. Meredith, a Whig Secretary of the Treasury, advocating protective duties, made in 1849 some concessions to his opponents, which are very important, and which ought to be commended to the attention of Mr. Guthrie:

"In laying duties and imposts it would seem that the endeavor ought to be to regard *the interests of the whole people*, not as little, but as much as possible."

"If it were true that a duty laid on a given article with a view to encourage our own productions is unlawful, because it may operate by discouraging importations, *the proposition would be true of every duty laid with that intent*, whether it were above or below the maximum revenue rate."

"All legislation designed to favor a particular class to the prejudice of others, or to injure a particular class for the benefit of others, is manifestly unwise and unjust."

In 1829, a meeting was held in the city of Boston, of merchants and others opposed to the tariff laws then in force, and an able memorial was prepared, to be presented to Congress. We copy from the memorial as published in the first volume of Mr. Condé Raguet's Free Trade Advocate:

"They, therefore, feel it to be their right and duty more particularly, as the restrictive system has sometimes been regarded as a New England interest and New England measure, explicitly to declare, that this system is unjust and unlawful, that in the actual circumstances of the United States it is incapable of being carried into execution as a permanent and practicable system, and entirely unsafe as a basis upon which the industry of the United States can be permanently placed." * * *

"Still, although less palpably unjust it is calculated to afford little real consolation to the taxed and burdened consumer of articles of necessity that the sum thus levied upon the community in the shape of enhanced prices, affords no particular benefit to those who are encouraged by it, to engage in manufactures, but is absolutely thrown away and annihilated to enable a portion of the community to obtain the same moderate profit from labor and capital employed in manufactures which might otherwise be realized from all other branches of industry common to the whole country. Such we believe to be the real effect of any system of protective duties designed to introduce and sustain a branch of manufactures which could not otherwise be profitably carried on. It is a tax without any adequate return. It forces upon the community the higher

priced commodity which has paid no duty, instead of permitting the community to supply themselves by an exchange of the products of their own industry with the cheaper commodity which has contributed a liberal revenue to the public treasure for the common benefit."

It can hardly be necessary to revive now, the old discussions in regard to protective and retaliatory duties, discriminating duties, etc., which appear in the Secretary's report, but upon which the minds of the people seem to have long been made up. Their enlightened common sense has pronounced against them all, and but for the sharp practice of manufacturers and the cohesive plunder power of monied capitalists a strictly *revenue* tariff would long since have been secured to the country.

In the language of the memorial of the merchants of England drawn up by Mr. Thomas Tooke—

"The humble petition of the undersigned merchants, of the city of London, sheweth:

"That foreign commerce is eminently conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the country, by enabling it to import the commodities for the production of which the soil, climate, capital, and industry of other countries are best calculated; and to export in payment those articles for which its own situation is better adapted.

"That freedom from restraint is calculated to give the utmost extension to foreign trade, and the best direction to the capital and industry of the country.

"That the maxim of buying in the cheapest market, and selling in the dearest, which regulates every merchant in his individual dealings, is strictly applicable as the best rule to the trade of the whole nation.

"That a policy founded upon those principles would render the commerce of the world an interchange of mutual advantages, and diffuse an increase of wealth and enjoyments among the inhabitants of each State.

"That unfortunately a policy the very reverse of this has been and is more or less adopted and acted upon by the Government of this, and of every other country, each trying to exclude the productions of other countries with the specious and well-meant design of encouraging its own productions, thus inflicting on the bulk of its subjects who are consumers, the necessity of submitting to privations in the quantity or quality of commodities, and thus rendering what ought to be the source of mutual benefit, and of harmony among States, a constantly recurring occasion of jealousy and hostility.

"That although as a matter of mere diplomacy, it may sometimes answer to hold out the removal of particular prohibitions or higher duties as depending upon corresponding concessions

by other States, in our favor; it does not follow that we should maintain our restrictions in cases where the desired concessions on their part cannot be obtained—our restrictions would not be the less prejudicial to our own capital and industry because other governments persist in preserving impolitic regulations.”*

Retaliatory duties were long ago exposed by Dr. Franklin.

“Suppose a country X, with three manufactures, as cloth, silk, and iron, supplying three other countries A B C, but is desirous of increasing the vent and raising the price of cloth in favor of her own clothiers. In order to do this, she forbids the importation of foreign cloths from A.

“A in return, forbids silks from X. The silk workers complain of a decay of trade, and to content them X forbids silk from B.

“B in return forbids iron ware from X. Then the iron workers complain of decay; and X forbids the importation of iron from C. C in return forbids cloth from X.

“What is got by all of these prohibitions?

“*Answer.* All four find their common stock of the enjoyments and conveniences of life diminished.”

The argument used by the Secretary p. 19, in favor of removing the duty on wool is in itself a satisfactory refutation of his whole system. The consumer of wool and woollens is graciously informed that the whole of the tax he has been submitting to for ten years, for the purpose of increasing the home product of wool, has been so much wrung from his hard earnings in vain, for says the Secretary: “In the trial of ten years, under the tariff of 1846, there is no greater production of wool in proportion to population, than there was prior to that time.” The argument is capable of wider application, and amounts to this practically—*general loss and special gains.*

The entire subject of the tariff is one which has exercised the wit of statesmen and disturbed the harmony of our public councils for the last quarter of a century. It has involved a continual struggle between the interests seeking subsistence out of the plunder of the public treasury, including the organized bands of spoilsmen, and the legitimate tax-payers and consumers, who are content to rely upon the laws of nature and their own industry for support. Under whatever ingenious and captivating name the real questions at issue has been concealed, such as “American system,” “encouragement to home industry,” “free labor against European pauper labor,” etc., the real state of the question is none other than we

* Porter's Progress of the British Empire, p. 282.

have represented it. The nation at times has been brought by it to the very door of anarchy and disunion, and it has yielded only in importance to the other great questions of slavery, and the rights of the States, to preserve inviolate their domestic institutions.

The time seems to have arrived, at last, for the settlement of the controversy, and the opponents of the tariff system in every part of the Union will never perhaps have a better opportunity than the present for insisting upon either.

1st. A uniform *ad-valorem* revenue duty upon every article imported into the country, for whatever purpose, with a total abrogation of the free list; or,

2d. A duty necessary for the wants of the Government, to be levied upon the fewest possible number of articles of import, selecting such as are of most universal use, and if possible such as are used in some kind of proportion to the wealth of the individual, and are not of domestic production or manufacture; or,

3d. An entire abrogation of all tariff duties, and a resort to the principles of direct taxation.

The difficulty in the first case will be the fear of public clamor in disturbing the free lists. It is so great a difficulty, in consequence of embracing such articles as tea, coffee, etc., which, during even the pressure of the Mexican war, resisted all attempts at taxation, that it may almost be regarded impracticable. In the second case the difficulty will be in the selection of the proper articles, if such articles could be found, the object being to free commerce from its shackles, and to secure economy in the expense of collection.

Our own preferences are clearly in favor of the third proposition, and we believe it to be upon the whole quite as practicable as either of the others, as easily attainable, meeting the question where it should be met, and in every respect constituting the true system in a great and growing country.

Therefore are we pleased with the evidences of favor which the measure is receiving in many quarters. The reference to it by Mr. Boyce and Mr. Campbell, during the late Congress, the discussions upon it in the last Southern Convention, and the proposed discussion of it in the approaching session in Knoxville, the frequent reference to it, and, in many cases, decided advocacy of it by leading presses throughout the country, are all very favorable auguries. A writer in the New Orleans Bulletin (Whig) of late date remarks, and the quotation is in point:

"I was a spectator in the Senate of the United States when the Hon. Robert Toombs opposed all appropriations for a Customhouse somewhere, on the ground

that if the people knew the uses to which they were put, and the abuses of the present system of collecting the revenue, they would with one accord abolish it, and resort to direct taxation. To which I say amen. An inquiry and agitation to this end is initiated and progressing in his State. God speed it, and give us the granite and brick in the unsightly pile in our midst to build a monument to its extinction.

"A prominent merchant of this place exhibited in my presence an example of 'routine,' as he was on his way to Washington last summer, showing that he was required to go to sixteen different officers, (perhaps some of the same twice) to enter a box, on which the duties amounted to \$1 20; he intended to exhibit the list to the Secretary of the Treasury; and would have consigned the box to the Mississippi if he had known the trouble its entry entailed in advance.

"Can these things be in the nineteenth century and not excite our especial wonder. Are we forever to be cursed with the evils and aggravating delays of this 'system!'"

Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, deserves the credit of being almost the very first to propose direct taxation as the true remedy for the disorders introduced by the tariff system, and in his speech in Congress, in 1841, meets the subject boldly, but not with the freedom it might now be met with the lights that have been thrown around it. We have not the speech before us but well remember its argumentative force and illustrations. From a digest in the *Globe* an extract is introduced:

"He believed that direct taxation and free trade were the principles upon which liberty was founded. So long as you keep up your commercial restrictions you set nation against nation. He was not now proposing direct taxation, because it would be disastrous to the principle itself. He did not expect to remain in that hall long enough to see direct taxation proposed in Congress in a time of peace, but he did hope to see the time when the people of this country would rise up to the majesty and magnitude of this great question, and carry out a system which he honestly believed would go further to reform the Government and practically enable the people to govern themselves than any other that the wisdom of man could devise."

A few brief references to the history of the internal revenue and direct tax legislation of the United States, with some statistics showing the cost of collecting the revenue, are all that can be incorporated in the present article. In another the subject shall be treated more systematically.

By the act of 30th June, 1791, an excise duty was laid upon stills and upon the product of distilleries; this act was amended in 1792-'94-'97, and repealed in 1802. In 1813, licenses were required for the use of stills, graduated by their capacity and time of use, and these duties were to continue during the war and one year thereafter. In 1814, an additional duty on the product of distilleries was exacted. In 1816, there were some modifications on these acts, and in 1817 they were repealed. These duties netted, between 1791 and 1801, nearly a half million of dollars annually, and the expense of collection was about 25 per cent. of the gross amount.

Another class of internal revenues was those upon retailers of wines, brandies, and foreign goods, levied between 1794

and 1802, and again during the war. These amounted, prior to 1801, to an annual sum of about \$64,000, and the cost of collection was $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

A third class was the duty on carriages, existing during the periods above, yielding about the same as the duty on retailers, the cost of collection being 5 per cent.

The other classes may be noted generally, viz: on snuff and snuff manufactories, which yielded very little, on refined sugars, on sales at auction, on instruments of writing, bank notes, bills of exchange, etc., etc. They were instituted prior to 1800 and revived during the war. In 1792 the total amount received from all the classes specified was about \$400,000, in 1797, \$737,894; 1798, \$744,379.

In 1815 a duty was laid upon the manufacture for sale of the following articles: iron, nails, candles, hats, umbrellas, paper, cards, saddlery, shoes, ale, tobacco, segars, and leather, which was repealed the following year. This was the case also with the duties levied upon furniture in domestic use, and on gold and silver watches, plated ware, jewelry, &c.

The first act levying *direct taxes* was passed in 1798. It provided for the valuation of lands, dwelling houses, and slaves throughout the Union, and provided for commissioners in each division to assess the said values. The tax on dwellings ranged from $\frac{1}{10}$ to 1 per cent., according to their quality, and upon slaves was 50 cents per head. A tax of \$2,000,000 was laid upon the United States, apportioned among them. Where the tax upon dwellings and slaves was insufficient to make up the quota of a State the balance was assessed upon lands. In 1813 collection districts were established in each State for assessing and collecting taxes. A direct tax of \$3,000,000 was also imposed and the quotas were levied upon the several counties and State districts, though the State legislatures might vary the quotas or elect to pay the money direct to the Treasury, with a deduction varying from 10 to 15 per cent. The same was provided in regard to the act of 1815, which assessed an annual tax upon the States of \$6,000,000, but which was repealed the following year.

The following table will show the amount derived from the internal duties prior to 1800—seven years:

New Hampshire.....	\$34,458	Maryland.....	\$368,772
Massachusetts.....	1,222,937	Virginia.....	671,485
Rhode Island.....	299,815	North Carolina.....	148,727
Connecticut.....	199,862	South Carolina.....	142,506
Vermont.....	11,170	Georgia.....	25,929
New York.....	848,279	Ohio.....	88,738
New Jersey.....	102,146	Tennessee.....	25,916
Pennsylvania.....	717,893		
Delaware.....	30,315	Total.....	\$4,808,288*

* The total includes fractions of the dollar in the several items.

For the year 1816 the following table has been made up:

A Statement exhibiting the amounts which accrued, during the year 1816, from the several Internal Duties, in each of the States and Territories respectively; together with the sums received, and the amount paid for the collection thereof.

STATES AND TERRITORIES.	Stilla for Do- mestic mate- rials.	Stilla for For- eign mate- rials.	Distilled from domestic ma- terials at 20 cents per gal- lon.	Distilled from domestic ma- terials at 25 cents per gal- lon.	Distilled from foreign ma- terials at 20 cents per gal- lon.	Duty on Car- riages.	Licenses to Retailers.
New Hampshire.	\$148 82	\$1,985 02	\$384 71	\$105 95	\$1,905 18	\$2,610 08	\$20,316 53
Massachusetts.	7,801 92	74,681 01	11,962 62	499 40	41,277 01	15,850 39	107,507 92
Vermont.	4,984 68	.....	5,297 79	318 99	.....	1,458 60	16,519 27
Rhode Island.	1,702 09	10,488 45	2,981 85	.....	4,018 04	988 27	11,408 78
Connecticut.	25,079 79	5,588 91	15,596 94	580 54	976 60	8,178 21	36,194 29
New York.	77,313 22	22,123 49	77,487 92	6,716 08	7,047 02	11,084 37	173,192 87
New Jersey.	39,462 12	2,451 16	24,080 14	5,898 00	1,075 20	11,325 88	32,611 75
Pennsylvania.	256,409 57	699 35	271,911 02	28,514 17	408 60	17,122 42	189,035 73
Delaware.	8,397 35	.....	.....	156 62	.....	8,666 90	10,868 56
Maryland.	85,214 29	.....	41,394 68	4,967 05	.....	13,072 07	50,343 09
Virginia.	111,137 31	4,407 82	111,952 59	48,223 98	418 56	18,342 18	58,603 16
North Carolina.	31,256 28	.....	10,710 59	61,163 20	.....	7,892 18	28,221 83
Ohio.	68,588 41	.....	84,274 80	18,868 91	.....	450 52	28,394 59
Kentucky.	84,175 84	.....	80,549 71	24,708 57	.....	9,459 19	30,141 62
South Carolina.	12,908 40	.....	4,486 96	21,588 64	1,461 00	7,986 57	25,316 11
Tennessee.	49,657 02	.....	24,391 62	29,360 37	.....	680 65	9,499 92
Georgia.	16,717 55	1,720 83	6,088 29	5,959 45	558 00	4,486 71	14,089 40
Louisiana.	10,188 62	.....	5,585 60	92 11	.....	1,443 58	11,821 27
Illinois Territory.	367 43	.....	.....	566 90	.....	21 74	776 95
Michigan "	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42 00	1,094 13
Indiana "	764 00	.....	692 85	2,844 87	.....	8 25	1,860 00
Missouri "	1,125 17	.....	1,888 35	498 97	.....	81 00	1,981 75
Mississippi "	1,063 73	.....	306 00	1,407 14	.....	855 40	5,499 43
District Columbia.	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1,518 05	11,888 64
Total.	824,443 77	138,990 54	732,644 40	263,649 87	50,085 21	180,476 62	512,647 17

STATES AND TERRITORIES	Sales at Auc- tion.	On stamped paper and bank notes.	Paid by banks in lieu of stamp duties.	Goods &c. ma- nufactured in the U. States.	Household furniture and gold and sil- ver watches.	Total duties re- ceived by the collectors, in- cluding all other items.	Expenses of collection.
New Hampshire.	\$1,288 98	\$542 91	\$1,125 97	\$2,486 07	\$743 50	\$39,495 87	\$2,976 67
Massachusetts.	95,708 94	4,562 18	10,468 33	31,269 46	15,549 50	467,043 29	21,422 85
Vermont.	106 42	33 75	.....	2,408 39	145 00	45,470 81	2,596 69
Rhode Island.	2,640 44	3,366 07	1,584 25	543 78	.....	63,059 17	4,045 29
Connecticut.	822 67	8,588 29	6,669 07	4,241 58	1,818 00	158,589 05	8,795 11
New York.	800,510 99	20,552 48	22,690 60	38,698 33	2,073 50	949,683 08	39,845 38
New Jersey.	448 58	4,826 30	2,215 76	7,082 81	1,847 50	179,239 81	11,002 41
Pennsylvania.	160,498 43	98,879 59	20,388 43	41,370 28	49,868 50	1,188,667 42	42,195 49
Delaware.	61 78	11,865 91	1,585 99	1,690 47	76 00	45,391 91	3,650 53
Maryland.	69,407 84	48,088 51	9,488 62	16,997 89	16,298 00	379,749 49	18,762 00
Virginia.	20,996 12	21,429 66	5,061 54	19,272 54	20,218 51	568,721 08	33,737 01
North Carolina.	4,844 26	12,922 36	3,499 90	4,518 92	5,404 74	219,908 42	18,567 94
Ohio.	1,014 90	12,099 60	2,324 88	5,016 34	2,186 00	145,485 52	11,717 43
Kentucky.	813 58	18,904 30	9,158 71	7,086 12	7,294 00	299,776 98	14,393 47
South Carolina.	30,203 28	17,641 24	3,495 34	2,670 53	1,390 00	172,600 71	12,353 79
Tennessee.	287 77	3,529 56	659 39	2,450 17	1,717 00	187,608 34	6,520 45
Georgia.	7,052 08	9,049 86	1,399 55	2,019 24	611 00	111,515 55	7,973 70
Louisiana.	23,217 92	10,202 97	1,843 43	1,192 05	1,620 00	68,690 80	5,787 88
Illinois Territory.	.....	2 80	.....	108 20	196 00	1,596 84	739 56
Michigan "	39 56	21 65	.....	19 08	72 00	1,888 45	546 03
Indiana "	.....	88 00	.....	182 06	.....	3,066 74	.....
Missouri "	.....	167 70	.....	388 48	.....	7,745 18	878 13
Mississippi "	1,053 58	1,390 73	420 00	3,356 84	667 00	14,012 61	2,455 85
D. of Columbia.	8,601 07	63,585 90	5,423 41	2,447 98	.....	100,668 26	4,276 85
Total.	729,109 00	369,587 87	99,443 89	196,301 59	128,655 75	5,814,561 88	266,181 98

From the work of Adam Seybert we compile a table of much interest, showing the apportionment of Direct Taxes, the valuations made for purposes of taxation of lands, lots, dwelling-houses, and slaves, and the actual amount assessed and paid upon them in the several States in 1798, 1813, and 1815 :

STATES.	Quota, 1798.	Quota, 1813.	Valuation Lands, Houses, and Slaves.			Ass'd & paid on each \$100		
			1798.*	1813.	1815.	1798	1813	1815
New Hampshire...	\$77,705	\$198,586	\$23,175,046	\$36,957,825	\$38,745,974	34	96	49
Massachusetts....	260,435	682,541	83,992,469	149,253,514	143,765,560	31	21	44
Rhode Island.....	87,502	69,404	11,066,358	24,567,020	20,907,766	33	14	38
Connecticut.....	199,767	286,395	48,313,484	86,550,038	88,534,971	26	18	26
Vermont.....	46,864	196,667	16,723,873	32,747,290	32,461,120	23	30	60
New York.....	181,680	860,280	100,880,707	266,067,145	273,120,900	18	16	32
New Jersey.....	98,837	217,749	36,437,800	+	38,612,083	27	+	21
Pennsylvania.....	237,177	730,968	102,145,900	+	346,638,889	23	+	21
Delaware.....	30,430	64,092	6,234,414	14,861,469	14,493,620	43	23	44
Maryland.....	152,599	808,247	32,372,291	129,016,433	122,577,572	47	12	24
Virginia.....	845,488	738,036	71,253,127	+	...	45	+	...
Kentucky.....	37,643	837,857	21,408,090	+	87,018,867	17	+	39
North Carolina....	193,697	440,467	30,542,372	92,197,497	93,723,031	62	23	46
Tennessee.....	18,306	220,173	6,134,108	35,411,911	...	80	25	57
South Carolina....	112,997	308,810	17,465,613	+	...	64	+	...
Georgia.....	33,814	139,872	12,061,138	+	57,792,153	32	+	34
Ohio.....	...	208,200	...	+	61,347,215	...	+	35
Louisiana.....	...	59,590	...	\$4,597,650	...	...	+	...

* The returns for this year do not include the value of Slaves.

† The tax was assumed by the State; no valuation was returned.

‡ This amount was returned for one district only.

§ Returns were deficient.

It will be seen that the majority of the Southern States assumed the tax.

The cost of collecting the direct tax in 1815 was stated by the Treasury to be $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; in 1816 $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

In 1808 10,495 persons were employed in Great Britain to collect a revenue of £53,916,000; but the customs, which only produces one-sixth of the amount, employed nearly half of the persons. In 1797 the expense of collecting the British revenue was on the hundred pounds :

	£	s.	d.
Customs.....	6	2	6
Stamps.....	4	17	7
Excise.....	4	12	1
Taxes.....	3	12	5

On the authority of Seybert, we learn that the expenses of collecting the revenue from the customs of the United States on the average of ten years, from 1791 to 1800, amounted to 3.79 per cent. per annum. On the average, from 1801 to 1810, to 4.19 per cent. Between 1790 and 1810, 4.04 per cent.

In 1855-'56 the American revenue from customs was \$64,022,836.

The duty collected upon the eight articles of woollens, cottons, hemp goods, iron and manufactures of, sugar, unmanufactured hemp, salt, and coal, on an import of \$100,745,110, reached \$27,829,952. (See table, May number.)

On the following articles the duty was \$47,168,850:

ARTICLES.	Value—1856.	Duties—1856.
Iron, manufactures of iron, and iron and steel.	\$22,041,939	\$6,587,975 70
Cast, shear, German, and other steel.	2,538,323	442,746 85
Manufactures of wool.	31,961,793	8,835,366 40
cotton.	25,917,999	6,333,740 05
silk.	30,226,532	7,604,846 15
flax.	11,189,463	2,238,384 70
hemp.	253,730	50,746 00
Brandies.	2,859,342	2,859,342 00
Wines.	6,796,058	2,718,423 20
Sugar.	22,538,663	5,761,595 90
Articles of which wool, cotton, silk, flax, or hemp, is a component part, but which cannot properly be classified with either, viz:		
Silk and worsted goods.	1,335,247	333,811 75
Embroideries of wool, cotton, silk, and linen.	4,664,353	1,399,305 90
Clothing, ready-made, and articles of wear.	1,978,344	593,503 20
Laces, thread, and insertings.	410,591	82,118 20
cotton insertings, trimmings, laces, braids, &c.	1,191,019	297,754 75
Cordage, untarred, tarred, and cables.	132,172	33,043 00
Twine and pack-thread.	53,821	16,146 30
Total.	\$166,089,379	\$47,168,850 05

There are by the Treasury list 1,050 items of the tariff paying duty at some rate, whilst less than fifty of them pay $\frac{1}{2}$ of the revenue, or fifty-four out of sixty-four millions of dollars. Thus 1,000 pay in the aggregate ten millions, and several hundred pay a mere trifle, increasing thereby without equivalent the expense of collection, and embarrassing the course of trade. We select a few from the list:

Paying duty.	Amount Imported.	Paying duty.	Amount Imported.
Barley.	\$2,054	Lard.	\$109
Oats.	900	Spermaceti.	73
Wheat.	2,546	Pewter.	135
Coke.	2,535	Lead paper.	330
Ivory.	145	Copper nails.	808
Oil of vitriol.	1,000	" wire.	139
Wood.	682	Whalebone.	610

Out of 318 articles returned in the report of commerce as paying duty in dollars in 1856, 165 articles reached less than \$100,000 each in the total import. The average at \$50,000 would be less than \$10,000,000, leaving the remaining 153 articles to amount in the aggregate to \$277,000,000 in round numbers.

The number of persons employed in collecting the revenue of the United States, by the cities, towns, counties, States, and Federal Government, may be thus stated:

Employees of the United States Treasury.....	5,000
Average to each of the 100 largest towns and cities, 10....	1,000
Average to each county in the Union, 3.....	5,400
State governments.....	600

12,000

The following will show how the price of agricultural produce in general, advanced with low duties, and declined with high ones. The exceptions will be noted. Hereafter some remarks will be made upon the table. Of course there are other causes at work influencing prices besides the tariff.

	Flour, bbl.	Rice, per tierce.	Tobacco, lhd.	Cotton, lb.
1813	\$18 00	.....	.....	.....
1814	14 50	.....	.....	.....
1815	9 25	.....	.....	.....
1816	7 36	.....	.....	.....
1817	14 75	.....	.....	.....
1818	10 25	.....	.....	.....
1819	8 00	.....	.....	.....
1822	7 00	\$17 84	\$34 49	16.2
1823	7 75	17 06	77 82	16.6
1824	6 62	16 63	63 45	11.8
1825	5 37	19 84	62 34	15.4
1826	5 25	17 26	80 48	20.9
1827	8 00	17 55	83 42	12.2
1828	5 50	14 97	65 75	10
1829	5 00	18 92	54 93	10.7
1830	7 25	15 20	64 60	10
1831	5 62	17 30	66 66	9.9
1832	5 87	17 89	56 41	9.1
1833	5 50	19 04	56 17	9.8
1834	5 50	17 41	69 20	11.1
1835	6 00	19 94	94 96	12.8
1840	5 37	19 10	82 72	8.5
1841	5 20	19 78	85 07	10.2
1842	6 00	16 64	60 11	8.1
1843	4 50	15 23	49 24	6.2
1844	4 75	16 20	51 50	8.1
1845	4 51	18 21	50 75	5.9
1846	5 18	20 68	57 28	7.8
1847	5 95	24 97	53 34	10.3
1848	6 22	23 73	57 78	7.6
1849	5 35	19 94	57 17	6.4

The following table is made up from the Census of 1850, showing the free population, the valuation of real and personal property, etc., in several States, and also the per cent. of State taxes on property, and per capita. It is also shown how a direct tax of \$50,000,000 would be distributed among the States, according to free population, according to federal population, and according to the value of real and personal estate. The calculations are in round numbers, and relate to the leading States. With Direct Taxes a revenue of 30,000,000 would be ample:

Certain States.	Free Popu- lation.	True valuation of Real and Personal prop- erty.	Local or State Taxes.	Per cent. local on Property on \$100.	Per Capita, lo- cal.	Federal Tax to free popula- tion.	Federal Tax according to property.	Tax according to Federal population.
				Cts. M.				
Alabama	428,779	228,204,892	\$663,446	2.4	\$1 55	1,070,000	1,771,000	1,440,000
Connecticut.....	370,792	155,707,990	566,543	3.7	1 58	975,000	1,107,000	840,000
Florida	48,193	23,198,734	85,287	3.7	1 76	120,000	164,000	161,000
Georgia	524,369	365,425,714	522,482	1.3	0 99	1,210,000	2,392,000	1,665,000
Indiana	938,416	202,650,264	1,938,266	6.8	1 40	2,475,000	1,445,000	2,240,000
Maine.....	568,100	192,777,671	1,738,087	14.3	9 00	1,457,000	571,000	1,380,000
Mississippi.....	296,648	228,951,180	1,340,400	5.9	4 52	740,000	1,628,000	1,100,000
New Hampshire.....	317,976	108,652,585	908,926	8.8	2 85	792,000	728,066	721,000
New Jersey.....	489,319	158,151,619	529,404	2.9	1 23	1,222,000	1,092,000	1,111,000
New York.....	8,097,394	1,080,809,216	7,160,255	6.6	2 83	8,000,000	7,800,000	7,000,000
North Carolina.....	580,401	226,800,472	455,343	2.0	0 88	1,450,000	1,614,000	1,778,000
Pennsylvania.....	2,311,786	729,144,998	6,089,455	8.3	2 69	5,800,000	5,207,000	5,502,000
Rhode Island.....	147,545	80,508,994	347,111	4.3	2 35	367,000	571,000	385,000
South Carolina.....	283,523	288,257,694	632,162	2.2	2 22	707,000	2,057,000	1,223,000
Texas	154,481	55,362,340	131,313	2.4	8 50	855,000	393,000	850,000
Vermont	314,120	92,205,049	719,414	7.8	2 29	785,000	657,000	619,000
Virginia	949,193	391,646,488	1,126,852	2.9	1 19	2,372,000	2,793,000	2,932,000
Wisconsin.....	305,391	42,956,596	570,469	13.5	1 76	762,000	300,000	726,000

The table will be carried out still further in our next, and some interesting deductions made from it. We close at present with an extract from the "Corner-Stone," in which Mr. Bethune, of Georgia, argues the advantages which would result to his own State as well as to the Union by a resort to direct taxation:

"There was collected from duties by the General Government, for the year ending 1855, June 30, the sum of \$53,025,794, and assuming that we pay an equal proportion of it according to numbers, our part was \$2,121,031.

"If the system of direct taxation was adopted, our part would be considerably diminished, because we should pay, not according to the number of our population, but according to the number of our Representatives in Congress. There are now two hundred and thirty-four members in the House of Representatives. The 53 millions divided by two hundred and thirty-four, gives \$226,605 to each Representative; as we have eight Representatives, our share would amount to \$1,812,840, instead of \$2,121,031, so that here would be a gain of \$308,191. If you add to this, 5 per cent. commission for collecting, \$90,142, and we have \$398,333.

"But what we pay to the Government is but a very poor representation of what the system costs us.

"The foreign goods paying duty, imported for consumption in this country, for the year ending June 30, 1855, amounted, in value, to a little over two hundred millions of dollars, paying an average duty of 26½ per cent. The population of Georgia being one twenty-fifth of the population of the Union, it is fair to presume that we consumed our equal share, amounting to a little over eight millions, paying a duty of \$2,121,031.

"But we not only paid this amount to the Government, but we paid several profits upon it. The importer sells to the jobber or wholesale merchant, and the jobber sells to the country merchant or retailer. Let us see how it is.

The importer has goods which cost him, laid down in New York.....	\$100 00
Duty, 26½ per cent.....	26 50
	126 50
He sells the jobber at 10 per cent. profit.....	12 65
	139 15

Amount brought forward.....	139 15
The jobber sells to the retailer at 10 per cent.....	13 91
	153 06
The retailer sells to the consumer at 50 per cent.....	76 53
	\$229 59

"Let us see now how it would be under the direct taxation system:

The importer has goods costing him, laid down in New York, pays no duty.....	\$100 00
He sells to the jobber at 10 per cent.....	10 00
	110 00
The jobber sells to the retailer at 10 per cent.....	11 00
	121 00
Retailer sells to the consumer at 50 per cent.....	60 50
	181 50
Difference in cost to the consumer.....	\$48 09

"This \$48 09 consists in the duty, and the interests or profits upon it, so that the consumer not only pays the duty of twenty-six dollars and a half, but he pays \$21 59 interest or profit upon it. Now apply this \$48 09 to every \$100 of the eight millions, and you have three millions two hundred dollars, that the goods cost the consumers, more than they amounted to under a system of free trade.

"This is the difference to the consumer, but it does not express fairly the difference between the money which goes out of the State under the two systems. There is to be deducted from it, the retailer's profits, which remain in his hands.

The duty is.....	\$26 50
Ten per cent. paid the importer is.....	2 65
	29 15
Ten per cent. paid jobber by retailer.....	2 91
	32 06
This goes to the Government and the North.....	32 06
Fifty per cent. paid by consumer to retailer.....	16 03
	\$48 09

"Now this item of \$16 03 is the profit of the retailer upon the duty paid upon a hundred dollars worth of goods, and this profit is retained in his hands, and of course does not go out of the State. This \$16 03 applied to every hundred dollars of the eight million dollars of goods, make one million two hundred and eighty-two thousand four hundred dollars, which deducted from three million eight hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred dollars, leaves two million five hundred and sixty-four thousand eight hundred dollars.

"The difference, therefore, between what the consumers pay for foreign goods, under the present system, and what they would pay under the other, is three millions eight hundred and forty-seven thousand two hundred dollars.

"The difference between what goes out of the State is two millions five hundred and sixty-four thousand eight hundred dollars.

"But this does not end the catalogue of the evils inflicted upon us by the present system. We pay to the North an equal or greater tax for the larger portion of the goods we consume manufactured in this country. We know there are those who deny this, but we will show it very clearly next week.

"This calculation is based upon the supposition that the Government shall collect as much revenue from direct taxation as it does now from customs; in other words, that it shall continue the same course of extravagance and corrup-

tion by which it is now marked—which no man in his senses can believe. In the first place, there are many expenses which are now necessary, which it will cut off—building custom houses, the revenue cutters, &c. Besides these, there are very many which are utterly useless, and are used freely as means of corruption. There is no question, however, that the expenses of the Government might, with great advantage, not only to the pecuniary interests, but to the morals of the country, be reduced to thirty millions of dollars. For the year ending 30th June, 1855, the Government collected from customs upwards of fifty-three millions of dollars—from the sale of lands, eleven millions. Suppose it shall collect from the lands five millions, and from taxes twenty-five millions—our portion of this would be \$854,728. We have shown that our portion of the fifty-three millions now collected from customs, if we pay an equal proportion according to numbers, is \$2,137,031. So that here is at once a gain of \$1,282,303."

FUGITIVE SLAVES IN THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE.

Since the decision in the Dred Scott case, all the fires of Northern agitation have been fed anew, and blaze and burn on every hearth, and in every hall. So have we saved the Union! Each day aggression takes to itself new shape and portends more eminent danger, whilst pæons are sung to the "glorious Union." Is that Union to be a shield, or is it a sword! Does it give us the security and the repose we had before the Revolution; or, more than these, has it taken away from us the manliness which was wont to resent wrong and resist oppression! Time will show.

Read the debate which follows, and which took place in the Legislature of the Empire State of New York, within the last month or two.

Specimens of the Debate in the New York Assembly on the Personal Liberty Bill.

THURSDAY EVENING, APRIL 16.

The SPEAKER. I care not where oppression may be. There I stand, ready to repel and resist it. I recognise no power under heaven that can make man a slave. I recognise no Constitution, no law, that can deprive a man of his personal rights and liberty, and I, as a citizen of New York, am ready to place this State in that attitude.

Suppose New York takes that ground, what then? Some talk of revolution, as if that were to be the dreaded result. Sir, I love that word, when it is revolution as against oppression. Revolution, in that sense, has entwined about it and in it the word liberty. There is no nation under heaven where freedom, if it have any, is not founded first in revolution. I preach not revolution here to-night, because it is not necessary. But I do say that when the courts undertake to deprive citizens of their liberty, it is our duty to take position. I know that State after State will follow the lead of the State whose motto is "Excelsior." When this great State, with her three

millions and upward of freemen, takes that position, then I know that a death-blow is struck as against African slavery.

[The Speaker's five minutes here expired, when, by consent, he had leave to proceed.]

The SPEAKER, resuming: This is my position. If this law be unconstitutional, I place my feet on the Constitution of the United States. Nowhere does it contain the word "slavery." Place that instrument in the hands of a man born even and bred under a despotism as absolute as that of the Autocrat of Russia, accustomed to its exactions and its tyranny, and entirely ignorant of the fact, that its Constitution had ever been a question in this particular, and ask him to construe it. Could he point to a line or a word that recognises slavery in it? I place myself on that Constitution, and I would not permit a fugitive from the South to be taken from our limits. What then? What power can compel us to acquiesce? Will James Buchanan march troops into New York to coerce us into submission? We know that no attempt will be made thus to coerce this State when it takes this position. We know that this will be a "bloodless revolution," a revolution of public opinion, the whole North putting itself on the Constitution of the United States, and declaring that at the North, at least, slavery shall not exist.

I hope this law will be enacted. I don't know what members think of it. I do know what their constituents think. I know that if this question was presented to them they would take the position I do—that of the freedom of the people, freedom of the citizens of New York.

Mr. VARNUM. I like the remarks of the gentleman from Oswego, (the Speaker,) because they come square up to the mark that I supposed he, and those who think and act with him, had in view; and I don't see, taking these remarks in connexion with the resolutions accompanying this bill, and the bill itself, how to reconcile the latter with any thing short of nullification. Though the Speaker said he did not preach revolution here to-night, he has preached it. He has defied the Constitution of the United States. (Loud applause in the galleries, which was with difficulty suppressed.) He says he glories in preserving that sacred instrument, but it is because the word slavery is not in it. But is there not in the Constitution a tribunal created whose province it is to decide all questions of construction growing out of it? Has not that tribunal decided that very question, as to fugitives from labor or service? Has it not decided the fugitive act to be constitutional, and that under it fugitive slaves must be delivered up? And yet the Speaker urges the passage of this law, the object of which he avers is to prevent the rendition of such fugitives!

If that is not treason, (said Mr. VARNUM, with vehemence, and turning towards the Speaker, who sat near and behind him,) if that is not treason, I know not what it is. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. FOOT said: The amendment now reads that no person shall be held a slave in this State, "unless held under due process of law;" that is, unless held under this outrageous fugitive act. Hence it is that I am opposed to this proposition of the gentleman from Herkimer, including, as it does, the proposition of the gentleman from Yates, to which I allude; for these gentlemen, by this proposition, call on the Republican party to endorse the fugitive law.

I cannot agree with gentleman from Columbia in his proposition—though sound in fact and in abstract—because he surrenders the practical effect of this measure. But, whilst I object to it, I shall not advance so far as to go for revolution.

The gentleman from Queens asked me, a little while ago, if the second section of the original bill would not prevent a fugitive slave, or one claimed as such, from being taken through this State to the South? I say yes; and I say that the only obligation resting on New York, under the Constitution and laws, is to surrender slaves that escape into this State. No officer of the United States Government nor any other man has a right to bring over the free soil of New York a fugitive slave not found in this State; and any such officer or other person who thus brings a fugitive slave into this State, with a view of passing through it, is punishable to as great an extent as he would be for putting a stiletto in his heart. And I say that this law of the committee, whilst it goes to the full verge of State rights in its operations, goes no further. Some gentlemen friendly to this bill of the committee had not rather use the term slave; but why mince the matter? Let the world know what we are doing.

Mr. LEWIS. My colleague is decidedly in favor of making the exception proposed by Mr. HARPENDING. I am as decidedly opposed to it. I stand to the same position I have heretofore occupied. I go for the substitute of my colleague, with the amendments proposed by Mr. HOGEBOM. But the substitute is good enough without. We have long ago repealed the fugitive slave law in Herkimer. We have repealed it in the senate and assembly of the people's hearts; and we defy the United States Government, with its whole army, to reclaim a slave in old Herkimer. If this is treason, make the most of it. I don't fear revolution. This country was born in the midst of revolution. It is not so bad an institution.

THE NEW STATE OF MINNESOTA.

The growth of things in this extreme region of the northwest is not unlike the glowing imagery of the Arabian Nights. But the other day we were accustomed to look upon the Itasca Lake and the falls of St. Anthony as points somewhere near the end of space, Kamtschatka, Timbuctoo, Juan Fernandez. They have come to our very doors, and we talk with people in the middle of the week, who tell us that they heard the "Church-going bells," and saw the gay throng hurrying to the house of worship there on the previous Sabbath!

Our fellow-citizens are pressing on. What think we of the Red river of the North, which has its outlet in Hudson's Bay? Hear what is being said in Minnesota about this almost fabled region, and with what common-place familiarity it is treated. As well sport with the grey beard of Nestor, or pat Napoleon the First upon the shoulder and call him *Nap.*

"This noble valley is now surrendered to the buffalo, who finds grass beneath the snow, during the winter, and in summer ranges through its whole extent. The head of Red river is formed by the confluence of the Bois de Sioux and Otter Tail, and from that point to Winnepeg, there is always during the summer at least *five feet* of water. During the last winter two companies from Minnesota have been organized, and are now laying off towns at convenient sites. The names of the presidents of these companies are a guarantee, to all who know them, that the noble enterprise will be pushed forward with an energy and capital that will surely *win!* What will the next ten years exhibit upon the Red river? Ten years ago Dubuque and Galena were the *ne plus ultra* of nearly all steamboats on the Mississippi. The falls of St. Anthony were supposed to be somewhere in the neighborhood of the North Pole, while St. Paul and her younger sisters were not in being. In June, 1846, a large company left St. Louis in the War Eagle on a party of pleasure to St. Anthony, and from Dubuque to Fort Snelling all was wilderness. Now Dubuque is the *southern* terminus of nearly one thousand arrivals, and St. Paul and St. Anthony are themselves southern termini of hundreds of arrivals from points still above us. Rich as the valley of the Mississippi certainly is, from Dubuque to St. Paul, it cannot be compared in fertility to that of the Red river, from the mouth of Bois de Sioux to Winnepeg, and I verily believe that the near prospect of our two railroads to Red river valley will stimulate settlement so rapidly that the next ten years will transform the solitudes of Red river into the present condition of the upper Mississippi and Minnesota valleys.

The head of Red river and its city will be to the valley below what St. Paul *now* is to the valley above Dubuque."

From another Minnesota authority we copy the following, showing the outlines and prospects of the new State:

"The boundary by an east and west line, 30 to 50 miles north of St. Paul, what will it give us? an almost exclusively agricultural State running from the Mississippi to the Missouri—upon the east, fertile and capable of supporting a dense population, upon the west, destitute of timber and water, and far from productive. A State 375 miles in width, containing 56,000 square miles—a State divided in its interests, one-half tending west to the Missouri, the other east to the Mississippi. The boundary by a north and south line, as proposed by Congress, what will that give us? The choicest farming land in the Territory upon our south and northwest. The forests, mines, water powers, and lake harbors of the North. A State of regular outlines and magnificent proportions, 340 miles in length, 220 miles in width, with an area of 75,000 square miles—a State where agriculture, commerce, and manufactures can join hands, mutually supporting and supported by each other—a State, the boundless resources of which, furnish fields of labor for every variety of human talent and enterprise, materials for every department of human industry—a State whose civil and political policy is to be founded and developed upon broad and liberal principles, embracing the views and wants, not of a single class or a single interest in society, but of all classes and conditions, and enlightened by all the wide and varied experience of men engaged in every great department of business and of life. A commonwealth whose stately bearing, commanding presence, gigantic proportions, and boundless capacities, will place her in the foremost rank among the greatest of the States."

EDITORIAL—CORRESPONDENCE—BOOK NOTICES.

As the time approaches for the next meeting of the *Southern Convention*, at *Knoxville, Tennessee*, we hope that its friends, and the advocates of sound and wholesome discussion upon all the great questions which come home so closely to Southern hearts and homes, will bestir themselves to secure large and influential delegations. Those who were at Savannah will not fail to be at Knoxville. The season is favorable in every

respect for a trip to that mountain region, and will afford an opportunity of admiring the surpassing beauties of a country, until lately, shut out from intercommunication with the world around. A gentleman at Knoxville, and one of the committee, thus writes to us of the date 6th May, 1857:

"Your note of the 21st ult. has been several days since to hand, and I have delayed a reply until I could learn from

our Mayor what to say to you with reference to your inquiry as to movements here in anticipation of the Convention. He authorizes me to say that everything will be done that can be to make the session of the Convention agreeable. An ample hall will be provided and suitably prepared. I have seen the President of the East Tennessee and Georgia R. R., (from this place to Dalton, Ga., where it connects with the road from Augusta to Nashville,) and he agrees to pass delegates over his road for half fare; an arrangement to this effect will be made, I have no doubt, with the other companies; and if, in any instance, more can be accomplished, it will be done. The Virginia and Maryland delegation can come through the valley of Virginia if they like, though they will have thirty or forty miles of staging, as that much of the East Tennessee and Virginia R. R. from this place to the Virginia line will then remain unfinished; or they can come over the Wilmington and Weldon road, thence through South Carolina and Georgia to Dalton. Kentucky and Missouri can come to Nashville, thence by railroad to this place. Arkansas and Mississippi to Memphis, thence by the Charleston road, now completed, to Knoxville. Alabama, Louisiana, Texas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Georgia delegations can, from any occasional point on the Georgia Railroad, come to Knoxville without difficulty or delay.

Without any hesitation, we insert the major portion of a letter received by us a few days since from a very esteemed, and, for many years, punctual subscriber, prefacing it, however, with a few remarks:

1st. The re-opening of the *African slave trade* has only been proposed as a subject for discussion among the Southern people in order that its merits and demerits may be fully canvassed, and not as a subject upon which the existing facts and information would warrant at present a decided opinion. It is thus referred to by the Editor of the Review. In the discussion there will at least, in all probability, be many new lights shed upon the institution of

slavery and the hollow hypocrisy of its maligners.

2. It is not true, as our correspondent supposes, that any article of the Constitution interferes. Congress has the power to act or not in the premises as circumstances may dictate, and has had such power at all times since 1808.

3d. The deduction is not fair from the remark quoted by our correspondent, referring to the deficiency of labor, and increase of demand for Southern products, that the purpose in view is to "favor foreign manufacturers and consumers." The purpose is to strengthen the political and commercial influences of the institution of slavery—to connect its destinies inseparably with the means of subsistence of the world—to develop to the fullest extent the present slave States, and to cover with new slave States the whole of the regions westward and southwestward of the Mississippi as far as American power or progress shall hereafter spread. It is to enable us to retain in all time the monopoly in those products which have given us wealth and consequence, and the power and the spirit to protect ourselves in the enjoyment of them.

4th. It is a *non sequitur* that a larger production of Southern staples would reduce the price and impoverish the planter, if that production were met by increased demand, the new laborers not entering into competition with the old ones.

5th. With the great and extended fields open to Southern labor, our friend need not stand in such horror of "Africanizing the South." Texas, New Mexico, Southern California, Northern Mexico, and Central America, are all to be the future theatre. The barbarians are soon absorbed and polished. Witness the annual influx of half a million of immigrants from Europe, without education, means of subsistence, or knowledge of our institutions or laws. They

at once become part and parcel of our system. They are the necessary incidents of a new and growing country. We invite them, and would interpose no restrictions upon their ingress. But, as was said above, the facts are not before us, and it is hardly necessary to run a tilt with our friend upon topics on which we may be agreed some of these days, when both of us are better informed. We give the extracts from his letter:

"I take the liberty of begging you, as an advocate of Southern rights and prosperity, not to commit yourself to favor the project lately introduced, of renewing the African, Coolie, or other slave importation into the Southern States.

"On page 555 of the number of your Review for this month, you say 'that the subject is an open one, and there will be much to say upon it hereafter.' This would imply that you intend it as a subject of discussion in succeeding numbers. Previously you say that 'it seems admitted that our capacities to supply the productions of slave labor is only limited by the deficiency of that labor, and not by the deficiencies of soil and climate.' This would imply that you are in favor of the measure of new importations of laborers, and that too, not for the benefit of present producers, 'the demand for whose products is running far ahead of the supply,' but to favor foreign manufacturers and consumers, whom you appear to be concerned for only, by augmenting the quantity and reducing the value and prices of production.

"Now, in the first year of a prospect of continuance of remunerative agricultural labor in the South, by which the lands may be preserved, our domicils improved, and the laborers well provided for, it is not patriotic in you, a Southern man, to endeavor to bring back the times of impoverishment and of scanty subsistence by favoring new importations of savages to reduce the value of our present laborers and productions.

"Besides, what decent white man in the South would continue to live in it if it must be inundated with barbarians, savages, or brutes from Africa or elsewhere, eventually to be Africanized like St. Domingo and Jamaica! You

cannot favor abolitionists more than to drive the whites out and to bring negroes in to occupy their country."

It now seems that the Abolitionists not only propose to colonize Virginia from their own numbers, but that they are about to make the District of Columbia, in the midst of the slave region, and once under the jurisdiction of a slave State, the centre of an education movement, which shall embrace the free negroes of the whole North. A vast *negro boarding school* or college is proposed to be established in the City of Washington, the site for which has been purchased. The proposed edifice is designed to accommodate 150 scholars, and to furnish homes for the teachers and pupils from a distance. The enlarged school will include the higher branches in its system of instruction.

There was a meeting lately, in an ante-room of Tremont Temple, of gentlemen called together to listen to the statements of the Secretary of the Association regarding this school. The meeting was small, but embraced such gentlemen as Hon. Geo. S. Hillard, Rev. Dr. Lathrop, Rev. E. E. Hale, and Deacon Greele, all of whom are deeply interested in the project. The meeting decided to draw up and circulate a subscription paper, and counted upon receiving \$10,000 for the purpose in Boston. The pastors of several churches in New York have pledged their churches in the sum of a thousand dollars each. Mr. Beecher will solicit subscriptions in most of the principal towns of Massachusetts. The designs and benefits of the project will be fully set forth, soon, at a public meeting in Boston.

The names of the Trustees ought to be mentioned particularly, as some of them are Southern men, and it might interest the South to know who they are: Benjamin Tatham, N. Y.; Samuel M. Janney, Loudoun county, Va.; Johns Hopkins, Baltimore; Samuel Rhoads

and Thomas Williamson, Philadelphia; G. Bailey and L. D. Gale, Washington; H. W. Bellows, N. Y.; C. E. Stowe, Andover; H. W. Beecher, Brooklyn; together with an executive committee consisting of S. J. Bowen, J. M. Wilson, and L. D. Gale, of Washington; and M. Miner, Principal, and William H. Beecher, of Reading, Secretary.

We entirely agree with Walter Lenox, Esq., in the protest he has, in advance, made against the movement on the part of the people of the District. It is temperate yet firm:

"We must insist that within our limits we are the best, and must be the exclusive, judges of the character and degree of instruction that shall be imparted to this class of our population; who shall be their teachers, and what the nature of the influences they may seek or shall be permitted to exercise. We have not been insensible heretofore to their wants, and still hold ourselves ready to minister to them with all proper liberality and with far better judgment than strangers. We fully acknowledge and respect our relations to the General Government and to the citizens of the States, but in this matter we alone must be the conservators of our own peace and welfare. And, still further, we cannot tolerate an influence in our midst which will not only constantly disturb the repose and prosperity of our own community and of the country, but may even rend asunder the 'Union itself.'"

By way of contrast to the very courteous language of Mr. Lenox, we extract a passage from the remarks made, a day or two since in New York, by the renowned champion of abolitionism, Wendall Phillips:

"Now, what the abolitionist is to know is the slave, and if the Constitution and the Senate go to the bottom, where they belong, so much the better. I do not care about your principles, I want you to announce to the South: 'I mean to be there, about their hovels. That is my butt. I am another Elisha Kane, and the slave system is the North pole. I will die but I will reach it. The moment I can plant that purpose and that willingness to avow it, say to the churches, say to the State, 'I know

no use for you, either of you, but to create noble men. The church, what is it? The schoolmaster. The Government, what is it? The schoolmaster. Suppose it has produced nothing but villains—what then? The schoolmaster is a rogue. Sixty years of experience, and twenty millions of people to teach, and they were so blind as to elevate Frank Pierce and James Buchanan into office, and to think that Caleb Cushing had a soul! (Laughter and applause.) It was not the churches or the State either that left them so blind. Now what I want is a purpose which shall avow itself. I admire Dr. Cheever. If any of those coals which touched the lips of Isaiah have dropped down to our age, his tongue has caught the inspiration to be gathered from some fragment of that fire. But what I want from him is to tell the people, as he is moulding the future, what their great purpose is to be. I want him to say to them: 'Inaugurate at home a spirit, which, if necessary, shall affirm that the State government will defy the Federal Government and yet not be guilty of treason.'

"These State governments are worth little or nothing unless that we may make them public garrisons for the anti-slavery idea against the Federal Government. Public opinion is the Saxon method of fighting—not with the bullets. I must raise you to the eve of disobeying what the Constitution says is law. I must raise New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Wisconsin, to the level of being glad that they are traitors. I know how eloquent Dr. Cheever is. But there is one word he has not dared to utter. It is 'revolution.' We must avow it that this is a revolution. We must avow it that there is no Constitution left. The North must be educated to the consciousness that she must trample law under foot. I want Massachusetts to put this on her statute books—'I will obey no slave law.' I want to make Massachusetts' soil so hot that a slaveholder would sooner go down to his birthplace (h—l) than come to Massachusetts."

A correspondent at Key West, Florida, sends us a paper upon "*Northern interference with slavery*," of which we shall make some note hereafter. It will please us to hear from him on all

the subjects indicated in his letter, from which we take the liberty of extracting.

"I have long held that our race, on both continents, are deeply indebted to this institution, for a large share of their rapid material progress; and it would afford me much pleasure to give a more extended range to the subject than I have done hitherto; although, I have written a good deal on this phase of slavery for Northern papers, within the last ten years. It seems to me time, also, that a stand should be taken by the South, that if any more of Mexico or if Central America is to be annexed, slavery is to go there without cavil. The South yet possesses that power. When we acquired New Mexico and California, our Senators could have carried this point or prevented the treaty. I have ever held that the general Constitution carried slavery with it to common territory, but had a clause been added to our treaty of peace, making the introduction of slavery a condition, thousands of our slaves would now be profitably employed in the southern part of California, a region that it is doubtful if its resources will ever be developed by free labor.

"It is time, too, that we should consider what is to be done with the native and mixed population of Mexico and Central America when probable events shall have been consummated. Will we permit Spain to go much further with her system of gradual emancipation in Cuba, before we take possession of it? What will it be worth to us, with six to seven hundred thousand free blacks on it? These are grave questions, and the solution we will have to make, sooner or later, is evident, even to a conservative like myself.

"I make the above observations to show my willingness to grapple the last subjects hinted at, should you think the discussing of them useful. They would be difficult to handle, and the only fitness that I may possess, lies in the fact that the Spanish American Colonial History has been a favorite study with me for years; yet I labor under the difficulty of being far from proper libraries. Spain threw away the chance, in destroying the half civilized native race, of fully developing the resources of her tropical American possessions. Had they been fostered as well as controlled, this would or could have been done. Can this race be

brought back to usefulness, i. e. subserviency?

"You will perceive that my legal views on the subject of slavery accorded in every respect with the late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the case of Dred Scott, before that decision was made. These views I have held ever since I had an independent opinion on the subject; and the enclosed articles were, in a measure, written at the time they were, in consequence of the discussions growing out of the above case. For years I have regretted to see many of the lawyers of the South, of the very highest name, admit that slavery is not a fundamental law of the land, and that it is a municipal institution. Both of these positions I have ever held to be as untenable as they were dangerous. Had Southern statesmen always interposed the fundamental organic nature of slavery, as was intimated by Story; together with the fact that it ever had existed, and now exists, alone by the "common law" of the world; with similar reasoning thereon, as was given by Lord Stowell, the North have found no hole in the armor of the South, for the entrance of the lance of free-soilism, with which they have made such a deadly thrust."

Among our advertisements will be found the prospectus for a *Southern Journal to be published in Philadelphia* by John B. Jones, Esq., a gentleman whose memorial on this subject to the Southern Convention, appeared in the March Number of the Review. The Richmond Enquirer says of the proposal:

"Its editor is a gentleman of unquestioned talents, of sterling and unflinching faith; one who will stand up for the Constitution as read and expounded by Jefferson and Madison, and will sustain the Union 'on the terms and stipulations agreed to by our fathers,' who will war to the knife against Black Republicanism, and all fanaticism, and sustain Southern rights and Southern institutions; who will be a staunch friend in the midst of our enemies, fearlessly defending the right against sectional encroachment and violence, and who will advocate equality among the States. 'THE SOUTHERN MONITOR,' (like the New York Day

Book, which we have so often commended to the support of Southern men,) will aid in opening the eyes of the Northern people, and enable them to see the mad course pursued by the politicians who are attempting to lead them to their ruin. It will expose the ignorance manifested about Southern interests and institutions, and enlighten the Northern mind relative to the habits, associations, feelings, police regulations, necessities, and wants of Southern society, advocating non-interference with our domestic polity and strict adherence to constitutional guarantees—the only true policy for preserving intact the union of the States."

We have received the second volume of *Mr. Benton's Abridgement of Congressional Debates*. The work will cover the period from 1789 to 1856, and be embraced in fifteen volumes, 750 pages each, comprising what is now included in one hundred volumes. Price \$3 per volume, cloth. It is published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. We agree with a neighbor:

"Notwithstanding the many idiosyncracies that have characterized Col. BENTON for the last ten years, we incline to the opinion that there is not another man in the Government so well prepared for this particular labor as he is. His long and eventful connection with the public affairs of the country, his fondness for historical research, laborious habits, and retentive memory, secure to him advantages greater than those of any other public man in the country. He certainly could not have devoted the remainder of his life more profitably to the service of his country than in the manner chosen."

The newspapers speak with high favor of *Russell's New Magazine* published at Charleston, and we are willing to take for granted what they say from our knowledge of the parties, despite of the fact that they have not thought us worthy of receiving either the first or second number, which have for sometime been issued. How is this Mr. Hayne!

The Hon. B. F. Perry's Address before the South Carolina Institute at the

Fair held in Charleston, during November last, with the exhibitors' catalogue, has been placed in our hands. The address is marked with evidences of great ability, and will furnish us useful material hereafter. The mission of the Institute is high. Says the report, page 56:

"Labor, and the elements of labor, strong muscle, and willing spirit, may be found all through our State, asking for that appreciation of its power and combination with capital, as will produce riches, education, and refinement. The sandy plains, so long neglected upon our line of railroad, may be covered with mines of wealth, in golden fruit, needing in the beginning but little capital, but yielding large returns; or, following the example of our western neighbors, South Carolina may have her fields, worn and useless as many of them are, rich with the grape, and so furnish to the world the supply of wines, pure and wholesome, that now comes, adulterated and defiled, from the factories of France and Spain."

Our readers will not fail to refer to the advertisement of *Old Point Comfort Hotel* in another place. It is now under other management, and has been wholly revolutionized. The proprietor is a Southern man, a Virginian, of character and reputation, and intends to devote extraordinary pains in making the place what nature intended it. Let the Southern public regard it in the future, as their Newport or Cape May, and they will find all the advantages and ten-fold the substantial enjoyments to be found at either of these places. It is easy of access from any point.

Ticknor & Fields, Boston, furnish us with a volume entitled *Two Years Ago*, by Rev. Charles Kingsley. We have not looked far into it, but imagine from what first comes up, that it is of the "negro worshipping" school. Some one is saying, on page vii, "Conscience has taught me to feel for the Southerner as a brother, who is but what I might have been, and to sigh over his misdirected courage and energy, not with hatred, not with contempt, but

with pity, all the more intense the more he scorns that pity, to long not merely for the slaves sake, but for the masters sake, to see them the chivalrous gentlemen of the South, delivered from the meshes of a net they did not spread for themselves, &c. I long to save them from their certain doom."

Something better from the same house, and in the same parcel, is the *Prose Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*, complete in 2 volumes, elegantly issued, duodecimo, uniform with the poetical works of the same author. Volume 1 relates chiefly to European scenery and travels. Volume 2 contains the Romance of Hyperion and Kavanagh.

Issued uniform with the above, but by Whittemore, Niles & Hall, Boston, is the *Poems of Charles Swain*, an Englishman, born in 1808, whose poetry is very popular, and has been translated into French and German. The collection includes nearly five hundred fragmentary pieces, many of which are touching and beautiful. These publishers also issue Alger's oriental poetry and Lockhart's Spanish ballads.

Four other volumes of the *British Poets*, published by Little, Brown & Co. are received. They embrace *English and Scottish ballads*, selected and edited by Francis James Child, volumes 1—4, duodecimo. It always delights us to commend this admirable cabinet edition of the Poets of Great Britain. It should be in every gentleman's library. The ballads before us are distributed into five classes.

I. Romances of Chivalry and Legends of the Popular Heroes of England.

II. Ballads of Superstition—Fairies, Elves, Magic, and Ghosts.

III. Tragic Love Ballads.

IV. Other Tragic Ballads.

V. Love Ballads, Not Tragic.

Works of poetry come thick the present month. Here is another: "*Dramatic Scenes, with other Poems*," now

first printed, by Barry Cornwall, author of English Songs. The Miscellaneous Poems are printed for the first time, whilst the Dramatic Scenes are somewhat altered and condensed, having first appeared thirty to forty years ago.

In-referring to *School Books* in our editorial of May, we observed that many had been published at the South which had not reached our table. This induces our friend J. W. Randolph, of Richmond, to forward—

I. *Vaughan's Abecedarian*, or First Book for Children, an agreeable little primer published in 1855 by him, the production of Mrs. S. A. Vaughan. We commend it to the attention of Southern parents, and cordially approve its plan.

II. *Elements of Descriptive Geometry*—Part 1. The Point, the Straight Line, and the Plane, by Samuel Schooler, M. A., Instructor of Mathematics at Hanover Academy, Virginia. Will not Southern academies examine this handsomely issued volume, though it come indeed from Nazareth? It is the result of much thought and experience, and has been compiled to facilitate the introduction of Descriptive Geometry into schools and academies.

Let all who have issued school books at the South, or who have them in manuscript, furnish us with a copy, or at least with the title, and they shall be announced.

We are indebted to M. Gross, formerly editor of the National Gazette, Washington, for some valuable manuscript collections of his own, upon subjects of agriculture and agricultural chemistry, including criticisms upon the late reports of the Agricultural Bureau of the Patent Office. Space has not admitted of the extracts we intended from them in the present number. They will receive attention hereafter. The author seems to be a man well read in such matters, and capable of doing service to the agricultural community.

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